

The Catholic University Bulletin.

Vol. XIX.

December, 1913.

No. 8.

"Let there be progress, therefore; a widespread and eager progress in every century and epoch, both of individuals and of the general body, of every Christian and of the whole Church, a progress in intelligence, knowledge and wisdom, but always within their natural limits, and without sacrifice of the identity of Catholic teaching, feeling and opinion."—ST. VINCENT OF LERINS, *Commonit*, c. 6.

PUBLISHED BY
THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA
WASHINGTON, D. C.

J. H. FURST COMPANY, PRINTERS,
BALTIMORE.

The Catholic University Bulletin.

Vol. XIX.

December, 1913.

No. 8.

THE JACOBITE POETS OF IRELAND 1690-1770.

The Stuart race is memorable alike for its antiquity, its ramifications, its greatness, and its misfortunes. Norman in its origin and traceable in direct descent back to the eleventh century, it became the progenitor not only of numerous untitled gentle families but also of over a score of noble houses enrolled in the peerages of Scotland, of England, and of France. To the Church it gave a cardinal and several archbishops and bishops; to France it gave one of its most winsome queens. For 232 years it supplied to Scotland independent kings. In 1603, while still continuing to reign in Scotland, it succeeded by inheritance to the thrones of England and Ireland, and for 111 years thereafter a Stuart was monarch of the three kingdoms. Its blood ran in the veins of William of Orange, as well as in those of the father-in-law whom he deposed, and of the sister-in-law by whom he was succeeded. To the joint thrones it furnished claimants, around the story of whose adventures and sorrows there has been thrown the glamour of thrilling and undying romance. When the Hanoverian dynasty came into possession of the sovereignty of Great Britain and Ireland, it owed its title to the throne to its Stuart descent. Nor has the line yet failed. To-day one scion of the Stuart race is consort of the King of Bavaria, and another is Emperor of India as well as King of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British

dominions beyond the seas. Its misfortunes are the common-places of history. Two Stuart kings, James I and James III, were assassinated; one, James II, was killed by the accidental explosion of a cannon; another, James IV, fell, with the flower of Scottish chivalry, on Flodden Field; if ever a man died of grief and a broken heart, it was James V, who pined away after the disgraceful rout of his troops at Solway Moss, November 25, 1542, and was dead, in the prime of his youth, within nineteen days; his daughter, Mary, Queen of Scots, was a prisoner for twenty years and finally fell a victim to the headsmen's axe; her grandson, Charles I of England, met a similar fate; and Charles's son, James II of England, driven from his dominions by his own daughter's husband, died an exile, as did the son who was granted to his prayers, and the grandson whose face he did not live to see.

The founder of this far-spread royal and noble, though unfortunate, family, was one Alan Fitz-Flahald, a Norman follower of William the Conqueror, who invested him with the barony of Oswestry in Shropshire. Alan's second son, Walter, went to Scotland, where, in the twelfth century, he was appointed high steward of King David I. This position of honour and emolument became hereditary in the family, and from it their surname, as so frequently happened, was derived. Walter, the sixth steward, married Marjory, daughter of King Robert the Bruce. Robert, the only son of that marriage, who thus united in his own person the Norman and the old Irish-Gaelic blood, succeeded his father as seventh steward in 1326, and established the royal line of the Stewarts (or Stuarts), when in February, 1371, at the age of 54, he ascended the Scottish throne as Robert II, in succession to his uncle, King David II.

In the fulness of time the twelfth sovereign of this royal race came to the throne of the three kingdoms in the person of King James II. James succeeded his brother, Charles II, on February 6, 1685, and should have reigned until his death on September 6, 1701; but he ceased to be king *de facto*, when, on the Revolution of 1688, he became a fugitive from his Brit-

ish dominions on December 18 of that year. It is with this unfortunate king, with his son, and with his grandson, and with some of the Irish poetry of which they were the direct or indirect cause, that this paper is mainly concerned.

In 1672 the Duke of York, as James was then known, who had been a Catholic in secret for some years, openly avowed his change of faith. His first wife, Anne Hyde, having died in 1671, he married in 1673 a Catholic princess, Mary d'Este, of the family of Modena. These acts naturally made him unpopular in a nation which was then actively and even aggressively anti-Catholic. In 1673 was passed the Test Act, by the provisions of which those who refused to take the oaths and receive the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England, at the same time formally renouncing the fundamental Catholic doctrine of Transubstantiation, were debarred from all public employment. Under this act James had to resign his office of Lord High Admiral of England, an office which he had filled with credit and even distinction. During the ferment and tumult caused by the so-called Popish Plot of 1679, the Duke of York was obliged to retire to Brussels. Solely on account of his religion, different bills for his exclusion from the throne were proposed in Parliament. That of 1679, by which the crown was to pass to the next *Protestant* heir, as if the Duke of York were dead, secured its second reading in the House of Commons by 207 to 121, whereupon, to stay further proceedings, King Charles prorogued the parliament. In 1680 the bill was again introduced and passed through all its stages in the Commons, but was rejected by the Lords by a vote of 63 to 30. Other attempts were made to have the Exclusion Bill passed in 1681, but they were again foiled by the dissolution of parliament by the King.

In time, however, the bad feeling engendered by these proceedings disappeared to some extent, and when Charles II died, James succeeded quietly to the throne, and commenced his administration with a large measure of public good will. The general confidence was, however, somewhat shaken when the king was seen, on the first Sunday after his brother's burial,

going to Mass publicly with all the insignia of royalty, and ordering the doors of his chapel to be set wide open. A note of warning was sounded by one of the great lords of his retinue. The Duke of Norfolk, who carried the sword of state, stopped at the threshold of the chapel. "My lord," said the King, "your father would have gone farther." "Your majesty's father would not have gone so far," replied the Duke. On the following Easter Sunday, in the words of Macaulay, "the rites of the Church of Rome were once more, after an interval of a hundred and twenty-seven years, performed at Westminster with regal splendour."¹ It was obvious that James was a sincere Catholic, who professed his faith publicly before men; but he was treading on dangerous ground.

Another act of his, which humanity and justice would alike commend, but which in the then state of public opinion caused high displeasure, was, by royal warrant, to discharge from the prisons of England thousands of Protestant dissenters and Catholics, who had been enduring a horrible captivity for conscience' sake. James further irritated his subjects by appointing Catholics to office in spite of the Test Act. Fury was raised to a white heat when in April, 1687, by his memorable Declaration of Indulgence, he gave liberty of conscience to all his subjects. By his own sole authority he suspended all penal laws against all classes of Nonconformists, and authorised Roman Catholic and Protestant Dissenter alike to perform their respective acts of worship in public and without molestation; and by the same authority he abrogated every act of parliament which imposed a religious test as a qualification for any civil or military office.

This declaration, so creditable in itself, was much in advance of the age, and showed that, if the King had great zeal for his own faith and a praiseworthy tolerance for that of others, he had but little prudence: he neither judged aright of the temper of the nation nor reckoned with the consequences of the unconstitutionality of his acts. There is no doubt that from the

¹ Macaulay, *History of England*, Chapter IX., p. 230 (Popular Edition).

point of view of ordinary prudential considerations the King had blundered.

He blundered still more grievously when he violated the law in endeavouring to control the public schools and the Universities in the Catholic interest, for, in doing so, he roused into opposition bodies corporate and individuals that, traditionally and temperamentally, were the friends of absolute monarchy and the advocates of passive obedience to kings, and had gone to great lengths, in times of stress and trial, to prove their loyalty to their opinions and their friendliness to James's father and James's brother and, still more recently, to James himself.

Fuel was added to the flame of discontent and sedition when a second Declaration of Indulgence, put forth by the King in April, 1688, was appointed, by Order in Council of May 4, to be read, on two successive Sundays, at the time of divine service, by the officiating ministers of all the churches and chapels in the kingdom. For petitioning against this command seven Anglican bishops were thrown into the Tower to await the exhibition of a criminal information against them in the Court of King's Bench. The populace was angered beyond measure by this move.

The culminating misfortune for the King was the occurrence of an event which he and all his Catholic subjects, but very few others, most earnestly desired. On Sunday, the tenth of June, 1688, James's queen, Mary of Modena, was delivered of a prince, who should in time have been James III of Great Britain and Ireland, but who never in fact attained that title, and is known to history as the Old Pretender or the Chevalier St. George. Had there been no doubt of the genuineness of the birth, the bulk of the nation would have felt badly enough that the Catholic succession was thus secured. But a rumour, to which some attendant circumstances in the then inflamed state of public opinion gave just a shred of justification, was industriously circulated that the Queen had not been pregnant at all, that a trick had been played, a shameless imposture practised, and that the new-born child, who was indubitably present, was the son of a bricklayer,

and had been smuggled by designing Jesuits into the queen's bed by means of a warming pan. It was a gross fiction; but it was sprung at the psychological moment; and it did its work.

The seven bishops were acquitted on June 30. On the same day a formal invitation was despatched to William of Orange at the Hague, informing him that nineteen-twentieths of the English people were desirous of a change, begging him to come as soon as he could at the head of some troops, and assuring him that tens of thousands would flock to his standard. The representative character of the seven signatures that were appended in cipher to this document proved to the Prince that business was meant. After making great preparations William at length set sail, and landed at Torbay on November 5. As prophesied by those who had invited him, the bulk of the nation quickly threw in their lot with the invader. James was deserted by large sections of his army, by his officers, by those on whom he had heaped the greatest favours, even by his own daughter, the Princess Anne. Having sent his wife and infant son for safety to France on December 9, he himself followed on December 18, and received a royal welcome from Louis XIV.

In England both houses of a Convention Parliament resolved: "That King James the Second, having endeavoured to subvert the constitution by breaking the original contract between king and people, and, by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons, having violated the fundamental laws, and withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, has abdicated the government, and that the throne is thereby become vacant." They next adopted a resolution by which William and Mary, Prince and Princess of Orange, were declared King and Queen of England for their joint and separate lives; after them the crown was settled on the posterity of Mary; then on Anne and her posterity; and then on the posterity of William. After an interregnum extending from December 18, 1688, to February 13, 1689, William and Mary ascended the throne. The Bill of Rights, passed in 1689, enacted that every English sovereign should, in full

parliament, repeat and subscribe the declaration against transubstantiation, and that, if a sovereign should marry a papist, the subjects should be absolved from allegiance. Scotland also declared for William and Mary, and thus James and his descendants by his second wife seemed effectually barred from Great Britain.

But he was not disposed tamely to submit to so summary a dismissal: he had a powerful ally in Louis XIV, and Ireland still remained, and in Ireland James was exceptionally strong. His Lord Deputy there from February, 1687, had been Richard Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnell. A Catholic himself, and acting for a Catholic master, Tyrconnell had quickly spread terror among the Protestant colonists, and in the same degree raised the hopes and aspirations of his Catholic fellow-subjects. From the army he dismissed 300 Protestant officers and 6000 men and filled their places with Catholics. Catholics were made Privy Councillors, Judges, Sheriffs, Mayors, Aldermen, and Justices of the Peace. The charters of boroughs and cities, hitherto close corporations for Protestants, were recalled, and so re-modelled that at least two-thirds of the freemen should be Catholics. In an incredibly short space of time practically the whole civil and military power in Ireland had been transferred from Protestant to Catholic hands. All this tended of course to foment religious animosity, and to religious animosity was added race hatred, and to both the rancorous bitterness that has always characterised disputes regarding the possession of the soil.

In truth, the soil of Ireland was then held in a most anomalous way. Leix and Offaly, in the midlands, had been planted with English colonists by Queen Mary; Munster had been similarly planted by Elizabeth; and in the reign of James I six counties of Ulster had been confiscated and given in the main to Scotch and English undertakers, the natives of Ulster receiving but a miserable allotment. Again, in the reign of Charles I, there had been a confiscation of Connaught, but no plantation. Under Cromwell practically the whole of the rest of Ireland was forfeited, and the bulk of the forfeited lands was given to English adventurers and soldiers. The only ex-

ception made was a portion of Connaught, to which the native Irish and Anglo-Irish Catholics were to be allowed to retire. These arrangements, much to the surprise, disappointment, and disgust of those who had been dispossessed, were confirmed by the Acts of Settlement and Explanation passed in the reign of Charles II.

The actual condition of affairs, then, in Ireland at the time of the English Revolution of 1688 was that three-fourths of the Irish soil was in the hands of the English and Scotch Protestant colonists, who formed but one-fourth of the entire population; and that the Catholic Irish and Anglo-Irish, who between them formed the other three-fourths, had to get on as best they could with one-fourth of the soil and that the barrenest and least productive.

It is easy to understand that the original landholders were not satisfied with this iniquitous arrangement. Sometimes they expressed their discontent by savage acts of revenge, and always they looked forward to the time when by some chance they should come into their own again. Now when a Catholic sovereign, who had for some years shown them exceptional favour, was forced into a contest for his crown, and needed their aid to recover it, their golden opportunity seemed at last to have arrived. By religious affinity on the one hand, and on the other by loyalty to a prince who was a descendant of the old Milesian line, which in the dim days of history had conquered Scotland, they were drawn to his support; but a still stronger motive lay in their expectations of a repeal of the Act of Settlement, of the expulsion of the hated Saxon, and of a redistribution of the soil of their native land to its rightful owners.

This was the Ireland to which James II now, for the first time in his life, came in quest of his lost kingdoms. It may be said that practically all the Catholics were partisans of James or Jacobites, and that practically all the Protestants of whatever sect were partisans of William or Williamites.

Of the war which was now waged on Irish soil, so glorious in some of its aspects, so sad in others, this is not the place to

go into details. Its outstanding features are the siege of Derry and its heroic and successful defence by the Williamites (1689); the battle of the Boyne (1690), in which William gained a great but not decisive victory over James; the first siege of Limerick and its wonderfully brave and successful defence for King James by Sarsfield, Berwick, and Boisseleau (1690); the battle of Athlone and the capture of that town by the Williamite general, Ginkel (1691); the battle of Aughrim, in which Ginkel proved victorious over St. Ruth (1691); and the second siege of Limerick and its capitulation, which virtually brought the war to an end (1691). James had failed not only to recover England and Scotland but even to hold Ireland, and the subsequent attempts made by his son, the Old Pretender, in 1708 and 1715, and by his grandson, the Young Pretender, in 1745, were equally vain. The Jacobite cause was irretrievably lost.

It was only natural that a struggle, the on-carrying of which contained such potentialities, and the outcome of which resulted in such disaster, for the Irish nation, should have inspired Irish poets to chant its varying phases. Undoubtedly much of that poetry is lost to us; but enough remains to enable us to judge of its general character. Some of the writers were contemporaneous with the events of which they sang; others lived long after them. It is remarkable that although in 1708, when the Old Pretender made an attempt to land in Scotland, in 1715, when he actually did land there, or in 1745, when the Young Pretender made so valiant a bid for his father's rights, no answering military move of any consequence was made in Ireland, yet it was around these princes even more than around King James that the Jacobite poetry of Ireland was composed. Bonnie Prince Charlie in particular seems to have been a principal source of inspiration. All of these poems which belong to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were of course written in Irish, for it must not be forgotten that Irish was the language of the greater part of Ireland until well on in the nineteenth century. In the nineteenth century itself many of these Irish Jacobite poems were translated into English verse, and a few original Jacobite pieces were also composed.

A good idea is given of the feelings raised in Ireland on Tyrconnell's appointment as Lord Deputy by the *anti-Jacobite* ballad of *Lillibulero*, written in 1688 by Thomas Wharton (1648-1715), afterwards Marquis of Wharton. It was set to the music of an Irish tune by Henry Purcell, and had so great a vogue that Wharton boasted that by it he had sung a king out of three kingdoms. There is no doubt that it had a wonderful effect; and yet, as will be seen, it displays but little ingenuity, an extremely rudimentary wit, and a plentiful lack of poetry. The sentiments expressed are put into the mouth of an Irish peasant who speaks English brokenly: *Lillibulero* may be said therefore to be in a sense the first sample of that linguistically imperfect verse which in our day has blossomed forth so luxuriantly into what is known as Dago dialect poetry. The uncouth words in the refrain, *Lilli burlero* and *bullen a la*, are supposed to have been Irish watchwords during the rising of 1641:

LILLIBULERO.

Ho! broder Teague, dost hear de decree?

Lilli burlero, bullen a la.

Dat we shall have a new deputie?

Lilli burlero, bullen a la.

Lero lero, lilli burlero, lero lero, bullen a la,

Lero lero, lilli burlero, lero lero, bullen a la.

Ho! by Shaint Tyburn, it is de Talbote:

Lilli, etc.

And he will cut all de English troate.

Lilli, etc.

Dough by my shoul de English do prate

De law's on dare side and Creist knows what.

But if dispencc do come from de Pope,

We'll hang Magna Charta and dem in a rope.

For de good Talbote is made a lord,

And with brave lads is coming abroad,

Who all in France have taken a sware

Dat dey will have no Protestant heir.

Ara! but why does he stay behind?

Ho! by my shoul 'tis a Protestant wind.

But see de Tyrconnell is now come ashore,

And we shall have commissions galore.

And he dat will not go to de Mass
Shall be turn out and look like an ass.

Now, now de hereticks all go down,
By Chrish and Saint Patrick, de nation's our own.

Dare was an old prophecy found in a bog:
"Ireland shall be ruled by an ass and a dog";

And now dis prophecy is come to pass,
For Talbot's de dog and Ja * * s is de ass.

On the other hand, Irish Catholic sentiment on the accession of King James is thus expressed by Diarmuid MacCarthy. The translation is by Dr. Douglas Hyde:

Thanks be to God, this sod of misery
Is changed as though by blow of wizardry;
James can pass to Mass in livery,
With priests in white and knights and chivalry.²

All the causes of Erin's hope in the Stuarts—race hatred and resentment of oppression, of spoliation, of religious persecution, and of the abolition of Irish laws and customs—are pithily summarised in the following song, attributed to Ellen Quilty, though that may be a *nom de guerre* adopted by the real bard to avoid detection. Shane Bui means Yellow or Orange Jack, and was the name contemptuously given by the Irish to the English followers of William III in Ireland. It is practically equivalent to the older and surviving appellation, John Bull. The translation is by John D'Alton:

THE EXPULSION OF SHANE BUI!

Ye daughters of loveliness! dim not your eyes,
By sorrow unclouded too seldom;
The days are at hand when your heroes shall rise,
And your foes be in trouble and thralldom.
No *Sassanach* band
Shall fling o'er the land
All the sufferings and sorrows that can be;
The chains of a slave
Shall not fetter the brave,—
With a blessing, we'll fit them on *Shane Bui*!

² *A Literary History of Ireland from Earliest Times to the Present Day*, by Douglas Hyde, LL. D., M. R. I. A., published by T. Fisher Unwin, Paternoster Square, London. Second Impression, 1901, Chap. XLIII, p. 593.

Though spoiled of the land where our fathers have reigned;
 Though bound to the plough and the harrow;
 Though goaded to life we feebly sustained
 The tasks of a hard-hearted Pharaoh;
 Yet when Charles shall come,
 At the beat of his drum
 No Williamite more shall a man be!
 When the Stuarts draw nigh,
 The long pampered shall fly,
 And Erin be lightened of *Shane Bui!*

Gadeliens, my boys! shall then rule o'er the land,
 And the churls shall be slaves as you now are;
 Our armies will thrive under native command,
 And our cities exult in their power.
 The mass shall be sung,
 And the bells shall be rung,
 And bards to each Tanist and Clan be;
 Fear and shame shall unite
 To drive from our sight
 Our heaven-cursed oppressors, and—*Shane Bui!*

Perhaps no more heartfelt or vigorous expression of the feelings of hatred inspired by the English colonists of Ireland is to be found than that contained in the concluding stanza of Conor O'Riordan's Aisling or Vision, as translated by Mangan:

My curse be on the Saxon tongue,
 And on the Saxon race!
 Those foreign churls are proud and strong,
 And venomous and base.
 Absorbed in greed, and love of self,
 They scorn the poor:—slaves of the Guelph,
 They have no soul except for pelf.
 God give them sore disgrace!

The principal Irish writers of Jacobite poetry during the period from 1690 to 1770 are David O'Bruadair, whose life was drawing to a close at the time of the Williamite war in Ireland; Egan O'Rahilly, who wrote then and for several years afterwards; John MacDonnell, who lived through the whole of the exciting time covered by the invasions of the Old and the Young Pretenders; and Owen Roe O'Sullivan, to whom, writing when the Stuart cause was hopelessly lost, Prestonpans and Culloden must have been merely vague childhood recollections.

Besides these, there were Teige O'Duinin (fl. 1690); Niall MacKenna (fl. 1700); Peter O'Maolconiare (fl. 1701); Father Paul MacEgan (fl. 1708); Cathal O'Heislionan (fl. 1710); Fiachra MacBrady (fl. 1712); James MacCuairt (fl. 1712); John O'Neachtan (died c. 1718); William MacCurtain (1658-1724); Brian O'Reilly (fl. 1725); Father Owen O'Keeffe (1656-1726); William Cotter (fl. 1737); John O'Cunningham (fl. 1737); Andrew MacCurtin (died c. 1740); Teige O'Neaghtan (fl. 1742); William O'Heffernan (fl. 1750); John Murphy (1700-c. 1758); Conor O'Riordan (fl. 1760); Peter O'Dornin (1682-1768); John O'Tuomy (1706-1775); Henry MacAuliffe (fl. 1776); Father William English (died 1778); Maurice Griffin (fl. 1778); Andrew MacGrath (died c. 1790); Timothy O'Sullivan (died c. 1791); Thomas Cotter; Father Patrick O'Brien; Conor O'Sullivan; Donogh O'Sullivan; Brian O'Flaherty; James Considine; Diarmuid MacCarthy; and numerous others, whose works still survive, but some of whose names have not come down to us through the sure operation of jealous and obliterating time. Despite the loss and destruction of manuscripts and records, it is, I think, quite remarkable that Edward O'Reilly, writing in 1820, was even then, with the imperfect means of research at his disposal, able to enumerate the works and names of sixty-three Irish poets who flourished during the hundred years from 1690 to 1790.

In this paper I propose to deal only with the more important of the poets whose names I have given. For this purpose, in addition to O'Bruadair, O'Rahilly, MacDonnell, and O'Sullivan, I select, as representative, O'Neachtan, O'Keeffe, MacCurtain, O'Heffernan, O'Tuomy, and MacGrath.

David O'Bruadair (c. 1625-1698) belonged to a family which is traceable to the early part of the ninth century. He was born, probably, in the barony of Barrymore in the eastern part of the county Cork, about the year 1625. He had a poetical career of over fifty years, his verses covering the period from 1643 to 1694. His parents were fairly well-off, and gave their son a good education. His acquaintance with languages extended to Irish, English, and Latin. In Irish in particular

he seems to have been a sound scholar. English he could both speak and write; he could at least quote Latin appropriately; and he had a first-hand knowledge of classical mythology. He was also well-versed in history and in what for an educated Irishman of the seventeenth century was its indispensable adjunct, genealogy. With contemporary English literature he may have been slightly familiar, as there are indications in some of his works that he had read Butler's *Hudibras*. He was prosperous down to 1674; but in that year he fell into dire poverty, and he had to make out a miserable livelihood by working as an agricultural labourer. From this time forward until 1692 his poems are more numerous and very interesting. From 1682 to 1691 they deal almost exclusively with the stirring political and historical happenings of the day. Their importance may be judged when it is remembered that they are almost the only extant contemporary documents, written in Irish, which give us a picture of the sentiments of the native population of Ireland at that period.

Among the compositions of O'Bruadair bearing on the subject immediately in hand a few may be enumerated. In October, 1686, we have from his pen a poem, directed to a trooper who had enlisted in the regiment of Major-General Justin MacCarthy, which contains some wise counsel meant as much for the Irish army at large as for the friend to whom it was specifically addressed. In the same month he wrote a triumphal ode in honour of James II, reviewing his career and commemorating his naval exploits. When Tyrconnell was appointed Lord Deputy on March 18, 1687, his arrival moved O'Bruadair once more to song. As soon as the birth of King James's son, the Old Pretender, on June 10, 1688, became known in Ireland, it caused national rejoicing, and the great event was duly celebrated by O'Bruadair in a poem, into which, however, a note of personal sadness is obtruded. Six months later he dolefully chants the flight of the young prince from the land of his birth; and a fortnight afterwards the success of the Revolution inspires him to compose a piece on the vile and disgraceful disloyalty of the men of England to their lawful

King in favour of the prince of the Flemings. In 1690 he composed for the Irish army a stirring war-song, swelling with high hopes not destined to be realised. In 1691 he wrote a triumphal ode in honour of Patrick Sarsfield, in which the various exploits of the great Irish soldier are celebrated. Stress is laid on the rapidity of his military movements, and his dare-devil performance in capturing and destroying William's wonderful siege-train at Ballyneety on August 12, 1690, is singled out for special praise. This venturesome, hard-riding feat has been often since extolled. There is, for example, a spirited ballad on the subject by the late Robert Dwyer Joyce. After the surrender of Limerick in 1691 O'Bruadair composed two poems, one in 1691 and the other in 1692, on the "Shipwreck of Erin, occasioned by the sins and divisions of her children."

The years following the close of the Williamite war were sad ones for Ireland. Instead of the ratification of the treaty of Limerick, came its shameful violation; instead of the amnesty it promised, there were attainders and confiscation; instead of the toleration which was enjoyed by the Catholics during the reign of Charles II, and which was solemnly guaranteed to them by the Articles of Capitulation, there came the proscription of their religion, the banishment of their bishops and priests, and the enactment of that savage and disgraceful code known by pre-eminence as *the* Penal Laws. In the misery to which his country was thus subjected O'Bruadair, now in his declining years, had his full share. His life was a continual struggle against poverty and tyranny. He tells us himself that his many books were gone, that he was surrounded by spies, that he had to trudge each day to the forest to carry home loads of faggots which left his shoulders frayed and wounded, that he was in dread of having his home, humble as it was, plundered, and his rough quilt seized in lieu of payment of his hearth tax. In this unfortunate plight the poet wrote but few poems, and these were naturally tinged with melancholy. The end came in January, 1698, but where he died or where he was buried we know not. "May his soul rest in peace!" says his editor and biographer, Rev. John C. MacErlean, S. J. "Too

long has his name been consigned to undeserved oblivion in his native land. May his countrymen at length come to appreciate the poetic work and learn to honour the patriotic aspirations of one who, whatever his faults may be, was a learned and true-hearted Gael, who, in dark and evil days, did his part faithfully in keeping alive the spirit of Irish nationality, and whom nothing could cause to swerve for a moment from the loyalty and love due to Mother Erin.”³

The sample of his poetry which I shall give is the concluding portion of a poem written when he was expecting the arrival of King James in Ireland. It is entitled “The Triumph of Tadhg”—Tadhg of course standing for “the Irishman.” The English prose translation has been kindly supplied to me by Father MacErlean in advance of publication:

“Behold the tonsured friar back in his monastery, wearing his wooden sandals and his cornered hat, see how the mayor obeyeth his order now and judges bend down to the ground saluting him. Long mayest Thou, O King Creator of sea and plain, preserve from all fear and calamity him who under Thee by his power accomplishes wonders like these, namely, James son of Charles of Scotland. Hearken to the prayers of our saints and our church in unison with the prayers of our strong and our weak, and protect without fail, O loving God, Whose bounty is vaster than the ocean, James our high king of no ignoble pedigree, the delight of the clergy and a bulwark of help to them, true Gael of our own Cashel’s royal stem and Frenchman sprung from Pharamond. Dear God, Who didst lead through the sea, with feet unwet, from the land of Egypt Moses and Israel, send James, son of Charles, safe and sound to his people, and humble to the dust all his enemies. I beseech Thee, O Ocean of clemency, that these events which, by one drop from the sea of Thy grace, have changed so suddenly and unexpectedly the face of this deceitful world, may turn out for the good of the Gael.”

Egan O’Rahilly (c. 1670—c. 1734) was born at Scrahanaveal, near Meentogues, in the County Kerry, Ireland. His father and mother were comfortably off, but he himself ap-

³ *Life of David Ó Bruadair* (p. xlvi) in *The Poems of David Ó Bruadair, Part I*, edited by Rev. John C. MacErlean, S. J., and published for the Irish Texts Society by David Nutt, 57-59 Long Acre, London, 1910.

In my account of O’Bruadair in the text I have closely followed Father MacErlean, accepting his opinion, as that of an authority, on all disputed points.

pears to have known dire poverty, especially towards the end of his life. He dwelt a good deal in and around Killarney, and a visitor to the Lakes of Killarney can still see in a corner of the nave of Muckross Abbey the tomb of the O'Rahillys, in which, according to tradition, the poet lies buried.

O'Rahilly lived in an even more terrible time than did O'Brudair. "He watched his country, all torn and blood-stained, entering within the shadow of an inhuman persecution, and did not live to see her even partially emerge. He often connected his own hardships—notwithstanding his profession as *ollamh*—with those of his country, and traced both to the same source, and in his death-bed poem he bewails both together. He is beyond all others the poet of the ancient Irish nobility, who despises upstarts, and gives no quarter to any man who sacrifices honour and faith for wealth and power."⁴

O'Rahilly seems to have had an acquaintance with the classics and to have known English fairly well; but it is as an Irish scholar that he excelled. Some forty-five of his poems have come down to us. They are divided into lyrics, elegies, and satires. As a lyric poet, full alike of passion and pathos, he takes high rank. He pours his whole soul into his verse. His principal theme is the wrongs of his country. "Most of his lyrical pieces that have reached us are concerned with his country's sufferings and wounds then bleeding fresh, the decay of her strength, the usurpation of her lands by foreigners, and the expulsion of the old nobility."⁵ The threnody, entitled "The Ruin that Befell the Great Families of Erin," has been, not wholly unjustly, likened to the mournful lamentation chanted by Jeremias over the prospective desolation of Jerusalem.

The elegies are death-songs for distinguished persons. Taken singly each elegy is beautiful and tender, but taken as a body there is a sameness in their mechanism which inevitably palls.

As a satirist, whether in verse or prose, O'Rahilly is fierce,

⁴ *The Poems of Egan O'Rahilly*, edited by Dinneen and O'Donoghue (Irish Texts Society, vol. III, second edition, 1911, London, David Nutt), Introduction, p. xxvii.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, Introduction, p. xxxii.

truculent, and unsparing. He pursues his victim not on earth alone but through the portals of death and beyond the gates of hell. Many persons think that the "flyting," or scolding-match, between Dunbar and Kennedy, which figures so prominently in Scottish literature, represents the acme of coarseness and personal abuse; but it is questionable whether in these qualities it is not entirely outdistanced by the altercation, real and not feigned, between Domhnall na Tuile MacCarthy and O'Rahilly. Each of these poets takes the whole person of the other, and in terms of mockery, derision, and contempt, goes over it from the hair of the head to the sole of the foot, leaving no limb or organ or other part of the body without making it carry its proper load of contumely and vituperation.

Among O'Rahilly's purely Jacobite poems the *aisling*, *Gile na gile*, or "Brightness of Brightness," is regarded as one of the most beautiful pieces in modern Gaelic. Another well-known composition of his is "The Prophecy of Donn Firinne." Donn was a celebrated Munster fairy supposed to haunt Cnoc Firinne, near Ballingarry, County Tipperary. The English version here given is by Henry Grattan Curran. It was published in the second volume of Hardiman's *Irish Minstrelsy* in 1831. Although not quite literal, it yet gives a fairly correct idea of the original:

THE PROPHECY OF DONN FIRINNEACH.

Does thy spirit despond that these wolves perfidious, forsworn,
Should banish God's priests and laugh his religion to scorn?
Feeble, exiled, is Charles, the son of the monarch we loved,*
Far, far from the hearts, that would bleed to sustain him, removed.

O foul is the treason, that bids us our truth abjure,
Our faith to our own regal race—oh! dark and impure
The breast that devised, and the traitor lip that proclaims
Our throne and our truth to belong to any but James.

*This is not an exactly correct version of the original Irish. The literal translation of the last two lines of the first stanza is:

"Oh woe is me! the son of Charles who was our king is lifeless,
Buried in a grave alone, while his noble son is banished."

The sun shall burst forth, and the clouds shall melt in his sight,
 And Heber's proud race shall awake in their native might;
 And the emperor shall weep, and Flanders writhe in the chain,
 And the "Brickler"⁷ exult in King James's chambers again.

Erin's soul shall be glad in the hall, at the festive board—
 And in science and song her sweet language o'er earth be poured;
 And the tongue of the churl shall in darkness and shame go down,
 And James shall return, the full joy of our hearts to crown.

And the fables of Luther, that darken the holy word,
 And the false ones that knelt not where God's own priests adored
 That hour's retribution shall scatter from Erin's shore,
 And Louis shall see what hearts our own prince adore.

John MacDonnell (1691-1754), who was born near Charleville, in the County Cork, is, according to Hardiman, known as Clarach or Claragh, from the residence of his family, which was situate at the foot of a mountain of that name between Charleville and Mallow.⁸ He was a man of great erudition and a profound Irish antiquarian and poet, and was chief of the bardic sessions held at Charleville. At one time he had the intention of translating Homer into Irish. On his tombstone, in the old churchyard at Ballyslough, near Charleville, he is described as *vir vere Catholicus, et tribus linguis ornatus, nempe Graeca, Latina, et Hybernica: non Vulgaris Ingenii poeta*. Several of his productions still survive in the shape of songs, elegies, and *aislingi* or visions. Among many other poems MacDonnell is author of the excellent Jacobite song, *Clarach's Lament*. It was written to the air of "The White Cockade," the same as is known in Scotland as "My gallant braw John Highlandman." The translation that follows is by John Dalton:

⁷ By the "Brickler" was meant Prince James Francis Edward, son of James II. He was so called by the Irish bards, from the many reports industriously spread throughout England at the time of his birth, that he was a supposititious child, and amongst others that he was the son of a *Bricklayer*.—Hardiman's note, *Irish Minstrelsy*, Vol. II, p. 137.

⁸ See Hardiman's *Irish Minstrelsy*, Vol. II., notes, p. 140. The epithet, however, may be derived from the broad cast of MacDonnell's features, or from the fact that his family belonged to the County Clare, or that his mother's name was Clair.

CLARACH'S LAMENT.

The tears are ever in my wasted eye,
My heart is crushed and my thoughts are sad;
For the son of chivalry was forced to fly,
And no tidings come from the soldier lad.

Chorus.—My heart—it danced when he was near,
My hero! my Caesar!—my Chevalier!
But while he wanders o'er the sea,
Joy never can be joy to me.

Silent and sad pines the lone cuckoo,
Our chieftains hang o'er the grave of joy;
Their tears fall heavy as the summer's dew,
For the Lord of their hearts—the banished boy.

Chorus.—My heart—it danced, &c.

Mute are the minstrels that sang of him,
The harp forgets its thrilling tone;
The brightest eyes of the land are dim,
For the pride of their aching sight is gone!

Chorus.—My heart—it danced, &c.

The sun refused to lend his light,
And clouds obscured the face of day;
The tiger's whelps prey'd day and night,
For the lion of the forest was far away.

Chorus.—My heart—it danced, &c.

The gallant—graceful—young Chevalier,
Whose look is bonny as his heart is gay;
His sword in battle flashes death and fear,
While he hews through falling foes his way.

Chorus.—My heart—it danced, &c.

O'er his blushing cheeks his blue eyes shine,
Like dew drops glitt'ring on the rose's leaf;
Mars and Cupid all in him combine,
The blooming lover and the godlike chief.

Chorus.—My heart—it danced, &c.

His curling locks in wavy grace,
Like beams on youthful Phoebus' brow,
Flit wild and golden o'er his speaking face,
And down his ivory shoulders flow.

Chorus.—My heart—it danced, &c.

Like *Engus* is he in his youthful days,
Or *MacCein*, whose deeds all Erin knows;
MacDary's chiefs of deathless praise,
Who hung like fate on their routed foes.

Chorus.—My heart—it danced, &c.

Like *Connall* the besieger, pride of his race!
 Or *Fergus*, son of a glorious sire;
 Or blameless *Connor*, son of courteous *Nais*,
 The chief of the Red Branch—Lord of the Lyre.
Chorus.—My heart—it danced, &c.

The cuckoo's voice is not heard on the gale,
 Nor the cry of the hounds in the nutty grove;
 Nor the hunter's cheering through the dewy vale,
 Since far—far away is the Youth of our love.
Chorus.—My heart—it danced, &c.

The name of my darling none must declare,
 Though his fame be like sunshine from shore to shore;
 But, oh, may Heaven—Heaven hear my prayer,
 And waft the Hero to my arms once more!
Chorus.—My heart—it danced when he was near,
 Ah! now my woe is the young Chevalier;
 'Tis a pang that solace ne'er can know,
 That he should be banish'd by a rightless foe.

I now come to a writer whose very name to most of my readers will probably be unknown, as indeed it is to many of his own countrymen, but of whom, nevertheless, it is impossible to speak except in language that may seem hyperbolical, for, if the claims put forth on his behalf can be substantiated, he deserves to be ranked among the few really great lyric poets of the world. I mean Owen Roe O'Sullivan.

Owen O'Sullivan (c. 1748-1784), known as "Owen of the sweet mouth," was of high, even princely, lineage; but he fell on evil days, and his own position in life was but a lowly one. He was born at Meentogues, near Killarney, in County Kerry, and at Faha received a classical education in one of those academies for which Kerry has always been famous. Thus equipped, he opened a school of his own at Gnceveguilla; but his life was not of the most edifying character, and for one of his more glaring irregularities he was denounced from the altar and his school was broken up. He then betook himself to County Limerick, where he earned a living as an itinerant potato-digger. Later he became tutor in a family at Aghnakissa, but here again he misconducted himself, and he was ignominiously driven out by the enraged paterfamilias with a shot-gun. The terrified tutor fled to Fermoy barracks, and there, not knowing

what else to do, he entered the British navy. He saw active service in very quick time, and was in the great engagement on April 12, 1782, when Rodney after an eleven hours' contest inflicted a severe defeat on the French admiral, de Grasse, in West Indian waters. In 1783 O'Sullivan was sent to England, and there enlisted in the army; but becoming homesick and therefore anxious to secure his dismissal, he blistered his shins with spear-wort, and, as the doctors could not account for the strange disease, and his fellow-soldiers refused to mess with him, he was discharged. Returning to Kerry he opened another school, which, like its predecessor, had but a brief existence. In an ale house at Killarney he had a quarrel with the servants of a yeomanry colonel whom he had lampooned, and one of them struck him a savage blow on the head with a pair of tongs. The wound brought on a fever, from which the victim died in June, 1784. The student of the history of English literature will not fail to notice the similarity of some of the incidents of his career to those which are recorded of two other men of genius, Burns and Marlowe, both of whom, like the Irish poet, perished in their prime. He had a wonderful funeral, and, like O'Rahilly, was buried in Muckross Abbey, Killarney.

O'Sullivan was a great wit, and some of his clever sayings are still current in Ireland. His poetry consists of *aislingi* or visions, satires, elegies, and religious verses. He was celebrated for his skill in the formation of Homeric compound epithets, some of which, like those of Homer, are themselves poems in miniature. Although he had an undisguised contempt and dislike for the English language, he yet could and did write English verse. He was, however, much more at home in his native Irish. His mastery over the *aisling* or vision, which was at first a characteristic form and ultimately developed into a conventional type of Jacobite poetry, was undoubted. In essence the machinery of the *aisling* resembles that of the dream poem we are accustomed to find in so much of Chaucer's work, in Langland, and in the mediæval Romance poets. The difference is that when the visitant is a woman—as it generally is—

the Irish poet plies her with a series of flattering questions, in which she is identified with this, that, or the other goddess or heroine of remote antiquity, until finally it is established that she is none of these, but simply the genius of Erin, who has an announcement or a prophecy to make to him to whom she appears. One obvious reason for the adoption of the *aisling* mechanism is that it allows the writer freely to parade to the hearer or reader his knowledge of "old, forgotten, far-off things, and battles long ago." The following specimen from O'Sullivan fairly illustrates the type. The translation is by Rev. William Hamilton Drummond:

BESIDE THE SUIR.

Despondent and sad by the Suir as I strayed,
I met a fair nymph in bright beauty arrayed;
Fair flowing her tresses and radiant her cheek
As the berries' bright bloom, and her looks mild and meek.

Benignant she hailed me, with rev'rence profound
My bonnet I vailed, and bowed low to the ground;
Emotions of wonder and joy filled by breast,
And, with rapture inspired, thus the nymph I address'd:

"Oh! art thou that fair one whose dear fatal charms
To the walls of old Troy led the Greeks in bright arms?
Or she who our princes has exiled afar,
And brought in the aliens, with rapine and war?"

"Or that dame, most unhappy, whose love passing fond
For the *Finians*, dissolved the dear conjugal bond?
Or she who afar o'er the seas sped her flight
With *Naoise* renowned in the Red-Branches' fight?"

"Or she that of old with the heroes of Greece,
Theme of many a song, brought the rich golden fleece?
Or the queen of King Connor deemed worthy alone,
When he lay in the tomb, to be placed on his throne?"

Then she answered me sweet, with a tear and a smile,
"None of these greets thee now—but the Queen of the Isle,
That once reigned thrice happy o'er mountain and vale,
The genius of Erin, the pride of the *Gael*."

To see Erin's genius what joy thrilled my frame!
But grief for her wrongs soon my spirit o'ercame;
Till she cried in sweet accents allaying my smart,
"My son cease to grieve, and with strength arm thy heart."

"For swift o'er the seas come armed ranks in their might,
Well trapped are their horses, their swords gleaming bright;
Led on by a hero, to sweep from the coast
The ruthless, false-hearted, heretical host."

In her own native strains, and with looks passing fair,
She accosted me thus, and then vanished in air—
I grieved lest my vision too soon I might deem
The work of enchantment—a flattering dream.

Thou, who man hast redeemed by dire suffering and toil,
This redemption, oh! grant to my dear native soil;
May the woes that o'er Erin her foemen would spread,
With vengeance alight on their own guilty head.

O'Sullivan was the darling of the peasantry of Munster. "Perhaps," says Father Dinneen, his editor, "there never was a poet so entirely popular—never one of whom it could be more justly said, *volitat vivus per ora virum*. His songs were sung everywhere. At the crowded fireside they brought tears to young and old by the intensity of their pathos; in the public street they drew a reverent and attentive audience; they waked the echoes amid the lonely hills. His words naturally melted into music. . . By the aid of songs like these the stream of Irish music flowed on through long ages of national decadence in undiminished volume, but purified and sadly sweetened in its course by fresh infusions of genius. Munster was spell-bound for generations; she forgot her troubles; her very bitterness was sweetened as she listened to the voice of the syren." ⁹

In the course of a brilliant and sympathetic appreciation of O'Sullivan's many merits—an appreciation which bids fair to place the poet in his rightful position—Father Dinneen fearlessly asserts the following propositions:

"Our poet has solved the problem of the connection between words and melody more successfully than it has ever been solved before; and in this respect he has no rival in literature, ancient or modern.

"Eoghan Ruadh [Owen Roe] is entitled to a supremacy in Irish literature from which he cannot be dislodged. Lyric poetry never flowed with such life and motion and vigour as from his pen. . . His lyric range

⁹ *Amhráin Eoghain Ruaidh uí Shúilleabháin*, edited by Rev. Patrick Dinneen, M. A., 2nd edition, published by the Gaelic League, Dublin, 1902, Introduction, pp. xxviii, xxix.

extends from the fierce war-cry of the clans to the softest strains of the lullaby. Gusts of fierce passion, terrible as Atlantic hurricanes, sweep over his lyre without disturbing its deep-set harmony. . . . He is . . . the literary glory of his country. His name deserves to be enshrined amongst the few supreme lyric poets of all time. What Pindar is to Greece, what Burns is to Scotland, what Béranger is to France . . . that and much more is Eoghan Ruadh to Ireland."¹⁰

To John O'Neachtan (?—c. 1718), a native of the County Meath, a learned man, and a good poet, O'Reilly in his *Irish Writers*¹¹ assigns forty-two separate poems, beside prose tales and translations of Church Hymns. Among the poems are an elegy on the death of Mary of Modena, widow of James II, which has been highly praised; an ode on James's natural son, the Duke of Berwick, who became so celebrated as a general on the side of France during the War of the Spanish Succession; and several pieces bewailing the imprisonment and banishment of the Irish clergy, the weakness, dejection, and lamentable state of the Irish, and the pride and ostentation of the upstart race that was now occupying their ancient seats.

Owen O'Keeffe (1656-1726) was born at Glenville, in the County Cork. On the death of his wife in 1707 he took holy orders, and died parish priest of Doneraile, where the literary tradition still flourishes. Among his poems is a Lamentation, written in 1692, on the battle of Aughrim. This, or some other of the many Lamentations to which that battle gave rise, was the inspiration of two of Moore's most famous songs, "After the Battle" and "Forget Not the Field." The latter, written to the music of the Irish Lamentation of Aughrim, is a singularly beautiful piece. During the troubled times in Ireland in the early eighties of the last century, when many of the best men in the country were thrown into prison and kept there without trial, its stanza was used as a kind of profession of political faith, and at every popular meeting one heard shouted in defiant tones:

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, Introduction, pp. xxxiii, xxxvi, xxxvii.

¹¹ *Transactions of the Ibero-Celtic Society for 1820, Vol. I.—Part I., containing a Chronological Account of nearly four hundred Irish Writers, commencing with the earliest account of Irish History and carried down to the year of our Lord 1750, &c., by Edward O'Rielly.* Dublin, 1820.

For dearer the grave or the prison
 Illumed by one patriot name,
 Than the trophies of all who have risen
 On Liberty's ruins to fame!

Such is the continuity of Irish national sentiment.

William MacCurtain (1658-1724) belonged to an Ulster family, though from long residence he is known as William of Doon, in County Limerick. He served as a cavalryman on the Jacobite side through the war. When the fighting ceased he settled down as a schoolmaster at Carrignavar. On the death of Diarmuid Mac Carthy in 1705, Mac Curtain became chief of the bardic school at Blarney. His poems are usually addressed to bishops and priests who had been banished overseas, or are concerned with the sad plight to which the native gentry had been reduced.

William O'Heffernan (fl. 1750), known as Dall or "the Blind," was of an old and respectable Tipperary family, and was born at Shronehill in that county. He wrote several beautiful popular songs, of which Caitilin Ni Uallachain is perhaps the best known. Mangan's great translation of this piece, with its wonderful mastery of internal rhyme and its passionate phraseology, is to be found in *The Poets and Poetry of Munster*. I prefer, however, to give here another version which he made of the same or a similar poem. It is contained in *The Ballads of Ireland*, collected and edited by Edward Hayes:¹²

KATHALEEN NY-HOULAHAN.

Long they pine in weary woe, the nobles of our land,
 Long they wander to and fro, proscribed, alas! and banned;
 Feastless, houseless, altarless, they bear the exile's brand;
 But their hope is in the coming-to of Kathaleen Ny-Houlahan!

Think her not a ghastly hag, too hideous to be seen,
 Call her not unseemly names, our matchless Kathaleen;
 Young she is, and fair she is, and would be crowned a queen,
 Were the King's son at home here with Kathaleen Ny-Houlahan!

¹² Pp. 218-219, Vol. I (Fifth Edition), published by James Duffy and Sons, Dublin, n. d.

Sweet and mild would look her face, O none so sweet and mild,
 Could she crush the foes by whom her beauty is reviled;
 Woollen plaids would grace herself and robes of silk her child,
 If the King's son were living here with Kathaleen Ny-Houlahan!

Sore disgrace it is to see the Arbitress of thrones
 Vassal to a *Saxoneen* of cold and sapless bones!
 Bitter anguish wrings our souls—with heavy sighs and groans
 We wait the Young Deliverer of Kathaleen, Ny-Houlahan!

Let us pray to Him who holds Life's issues in His hands—
 Him who formed the mighty globe with all its thousand lands,
 Girdling them with seas and mountains, rivers deep and strands,
 To cast a look of pity upon Kathaleen Ny-Houlahan!

He, who over sands and waves led Israël along—
 He, who fed, with heavenly bread, that chosen tribe and throng—
 He, who stood by Moses, when his foes were fierce and strong—
 May He show forth His might in saving Kathaleen Ny-Houlahan.

O'Heffernan was also author of "Cliona of the Rock," an aisling, translated into English heroic couplets by Henry Grattan Curran, in Hardiman's *Irish Minstrelsy*.¹³

John O'Tuomy (1706-1775), known as "the Gay," was born at Croome, in County Limerick. He was proficient in Greek and Latin and was fairly well versed in the literature of his time. He succeeded John Mac Donnell as chief bard of the district of the Maig in County Limerick. He kept an inn first at Croome and afterwards in Limerick city. Over the door of his house he displayed a sign in Irish, which, translated, ran as follows:

Should one of the stock of the noble Gael,
 A Brother bard who is fond of good cheer,
 Be short of the price of a tankard of ale,
 He is welcome to O'Tuomy a thousand times here!

Of course, under such conditions, his hostelry was much frequented and became a general rendezvous for the bards and tourists of Munster. Equally of course, his open-handedness resulted in disaster to his business, and he had at length to become a farm-servant. His productions consist largely of drinking and convivial songs, of poetical disputes carried on

¹³ See Vol. II., pp. 25-31.

with different bards, and of poems to friends, to the Stuarts, and to Ireland. His "Lament for the Fenians," written, like so many Jacobite songs, to the air of "The White Cockade"; his "Moirin Ni Chuillionain" (Little Mary Cullenan); and his "Spirit of Song" are all aglow with his love of Ireland, his hatred of her oppressors, and his desire and hope to see her once more raised up from the slough of despond. I give the last mentioned poem, as translated by James Clarence Mangan:¹⁴

SPIRIT OF SONG.

O, Spirit of Song, awake! arise!

For thee I pine by night and by day;
With none to cheer me, or hear my sighs
For the fate of him who is far away.

O, Eire, my soul, what a woe is thine!

That glorious youth of a kingly race,
Whose arm is strong to hew tyrants down,
How long shall it be ere I see his face,
How long shall it be ere he wins the Crown?
O, Eire, my soul, &c.

Why, Bards, arise ye not, each and all;
Why sing ye not strains in warlike style?
He comes with his heroes, to disenthral,
By the might of the sword, our long-chained isle!
O, Eire, my soul, &c.

Kings Philip and James, and their marshalled hosts,
A brilliant phalanx, a dazzling band,
Will sail full soon for our noble coasts,
And reach in power *Inis Eilge's* strand.
O, Eire, my soul, &c.

They will drive afar to the surging sea
The sullen tribe of the dreary tongue;
The Gaels again shall be rich and free;
The praise of the Bards shall be loudly sung!
O, Eire, my soul, &c.

Oh, dear to my heart is the thought of that day!
When it dawns we will quaff the beaded ale;
We'll pass it in pleasure, merry and gay,
And drink shame to all sneakers out of our pale.
O, Eire, my soul, &c.

¹⁴ In *The Poets and Poetry of Munster* (Fifth Edition, n. d.), published by James Duffy and Co., Ltd., Dublin, pp. 75-77.

O, Mother of Saints, to thee be the praise
 Of the downfall that waits the Saxon throng;
 The priests shall assemble and chant sweet lays,
 And each bard and lyrist shall echo the song!
 O, Eire, my soul, &c.

Andrew Mac Grath (?—c. 1790), known as An Mangaire Sugach or "The Jolly Pedlar," was born on the banks of the Maig in County Limerick. He was for a time a school-master, but he lived a wild and irregular life, and was a very hard drinker. Expelled for his irregularities from the Catholic Church, he sought admission to the Protestant communion, but in vain, whereupon he composed his famous "Lament." He lies buried in the churchyard at Kilmallock. His poems are satirical, amatory, bacchanalian, and political. His wit was keen, and his satire dreaded. His "Farewell to the Maig" is one of his sweetest compositions. His best known Jacobite poems are "A Whack at the Whigs," which has been very spiritedly rendered by Mangan,¹⁵ and the "Song of Freedom," in which he makes an appeal in favour of the exiled Stuarts and calls for vengeance on their enemies. The latter has been thus translated into English verse by Henry Grattan Curran in Hardiman's *Irish Minstrelsy*:¹⁶

CANTICLE OF DELIVERANCE.

Too long have the churls in dark bondage oppressed me,
 Too long have I cursed them in anguish and gloom;
 Yet hope with no vision of comfort has blessed me—
 The cave is my shelter—the rude rock my home:
 Save Donn and his kindred, my sorrow had shaken
 All friends from my side, when at evening, forsaken,
 I sought the lone fort, proud to hear him awaken
 The hymn of deliverance breathing for me.

He told how the heroes wer fall'n and degraded,
 And scorn dashed the tear their affliction would claim!
 But Phelim and Heber, whose children betrayed it,
 The land shall relume with the light of their fame!
 The fleet is prepared, and proud Charles is commanding,

¹⁵ *Op. Cit.*, pp. 93-99.

¹⁶ Vol. II., pp. 33-35.

And wide o'er the wave the white sail is expanding,
 The dark brood of Luther shall quail at their landing—
 The Gael, like a tempest, shall burst on the foe!

The bards shall exult, and the harp string shall tremble,
 And love and devotion be poured in the strain;
 Ere "Samhain" our chiefs shall in Temor assemble—
 The "Lion" protect our own pastors again:
 The Gael shall redeem every shrine's desecration;
 In song shall exhale our warm hearts' adoration;
 Confusion shall light on the foes' usurpation,
 And Erin shine out yet triumphant and free.

The secrets of destiny now are before you—
 Away! to each heart the proud tidings to tell,
 Your Charles is at hand, let the green flag spread o'er you!
 The treaty they broke your deep vengeance shall swell:
 The hour is arrived, and, in loyalty blending,
 Surround him! sustain! Shall the gorged goat descending
 Deter you, your own sacred monarch defending?—
 Rush on like a tempest, and scatter the foe!

The dominant note of all these poets is their patriotism, their undying love for mother Erin. Of this theme they never tire. While they sing the praises of the Stuart line and voice ardent longings for its restoration, the subject really nearest their hearts is their beloved country, her wrongs, her woes, her hopes. She is figured under all sorts of allegorical representations; she is called by all sorts of endearing names. She is the Brightness of Brightness, the Little Black Rose, the Heart's Nut, the Secret Beloved One; or she is Grainne Mhaol, or Sheela O'Gara, or Little Mary Cuillenan, or Kathleen Ni-Houlahan.

When we remember the terrible condition into which the bulk of the population of Ireland was plunged on the conclusion of the Williamite war and under the diabolical régime of the Penal Laws, we shall not be surprised to find that throughout the greater part of the poetry of the period there is, as well as fierce resentment of wrong, a tone of pathetic sadness. Indeed, Dr. Douglas Hyde has gone so far as to say that he has "met nothing more painful in literature than the constant, the almost unvarying cry of agony sent out by every one of the Irish writers during the latter half of the seven-

teenth and the first half of the eighteenth century." But behind the melancholy there is present the undying belief that Ireland will not be always sad; through the gloom, dim and distant far, perhaps, but never entirely obscured, shines their star of hope. In aisling, or ode, or prophecy, or song, a bright future is envisaged, a time of peace and happiness and joy: Kathleen Ni-Houlahan will not for ever be in chains; Erin shall "shine out yet triumphant and free."

In this respect these Jacobite poets are truly representative of the deep-feeling but buoyant race to which they belonged. In their darkest hour of desolation the Irish people have never quite given way to despair, but, with sad hearts often and often with straining eyes, have ever looked forward to the dawning of a brighter day. The true motto of Ireland is *Resurgam*.

P. J. LENNOX.

CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

FEUDALISM IN IRELAND.

When any people are oppressed, when they are deprived of the rewards of activity, they tend to become inert and ambitionless. Except they are a people of very strong character, they will give way under oppression. The results of oppression will not only tell on present but on future generations. Hence it will not be sufficient for the progress of such a people merely to remove the oppressor's yoke. Their case is similar to that of an ambitionless man. He will not be moved to action by merely placing rewards before him. You must convince him of the value to him of the rewards set before him. If he has been oppressed and deprived of the fruits of his labours in the past, he will be inclined to find therein an excuse for his present faults and shortcomings.

If this picture does not depict the true status of the Irish people before the last decade of the Nineteenth Century, it is because of the indomitable, irrepressible, unconquerable character of the Celt. We do not believe that persecution and oppression ever rendered the Celt ambitionless or inert. If he saw an opportunity he was as capable as profiting by it at the end of the Nineteenth Century as he ever was. But something seemed to cloud the horizon of success for him in Ireland. He would labor, if he only could see the rewards of labor, and he showed himself prepared to labor when the reward was set before him in America and Australia. But work in Ireland! What was there for it? Such was the tradition which was sung in our ears as children. "We would go to a land where we could get something for our labours" summed up the hopes and the resolves of the greater number of Irish young men and women until the last decade of the Nineteenth Century. The trials and difficulties which were first whispered into the ears of Irish children were mostly connected with the payment of rent, with landlordism, with boycotting, etc. And most of

the people with whom one associated, had a difficult time in eking out an existence after paying their rent to the landlord. The first desire of these poor people's hearts was freedom from the bondage of landlordism. With those who could not pay rents and who were ejected from their farms or in constant danger of eviction, opposition to landlordism manifested itself in boycotting and agrarian outrages. We can, therefore, easily see why landlordism should have excited so much opposition among the Irish people. It was simply a fight for bread and butter with the great majority of them. They all united against the common foe, who was spending the fruits of their labors on a foreign soil. The central theme of most of the political oratory was landlord oppression and the necessity of uniting to drive the landlord from the soil.

The social and political ideals of Europe, that striking contrast between upper and lower classes so noticeable in the older civilizations, have to a great extent been the result of that system of land tenure which sprang from the feudal system. That dependence of the lower on the upper classes may be traced back to the time when one man—the Lord of the Manor—was complete owner of the soil, and the other members of the community his dependants. They rallied to the standard of the lord in time of war, they were his support as he was the support of the Crown. In times of peace they were obliged to contribute so much labor to the cultivation of the lord's demesne. Until the English invasion the feudal system never found a footing in Ireland. The Celts resisted the inroads of Feudalism in Ireland as they did the Roman institutions in Britain long before. Theirs was the one civilization which outlived the civilization of Rome. "As a matter of fact the Romans never attempted to turn everything upside down at once. They actually recognized the land districts of the Celts, and the peculiarities of their grouping on the land, merely introducing the city as the head and centre of the land district."¹ In their tribal system the Celts had a common ownership of land for they were mostly a pastoral people. Their property consisted chiefly of herds.

¹ Vinogradoff, *The Growth of the Manor*, p. 47.

Hence an actual partitioning of land was not necessary. We can, therefore, see that the Celtic tribal system differed vastly from the Feudal system. In the Celtic tribe each man was an owner of land. In the Feudal system all the land was owned by the lord. In the tribe each man had to work for his own living. Unlike the Feudal system there was no set of persons depending for their upkeep on the labor of others. There was in other words no serfdom in the tribal system.

It was the sudden uprooting of this system by the English in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that started Ireland's tale of sorrow. But the abolition of the Irish tribal system and the confiscation of Irish rights were not sufficient of themselves to perpetuate those grievances under which Ireland suffered for three centuries. It was difference of religion that led to the confiscations in the first instance, and it was difference of religion that caused the consequent grievances to continue so long. The Irish refused to give up their faith at the beck of the English monarchs, and for their refusal their lands were confiscated. Elizabeth, James I, Cromwell, Charles II and William of Orange, deprived the Irish of their land to distribute it among their favourites or to sell it to English and Scotch colonists, always with two conditions: that they should do all in their power to drive out the native Irish and that they should not allow them under any consideration to recover possession of the land. The English sovereigns were even determined that the Irish should not be retained as mere wage-earners. But the colonists soon found out that Irish land could not be cultivated without Irish labor. The Irish were consequently allowed to operate the land as laborers, and in return for their labor they obtained possession of land for their own use. As time went on custom gave them certain property rights in the land. They had improved it, they had added to its value. They accordingly felt as they had a right to feel, that they should get a fair return from their labor on the land that they had a right to peaceable possession of the land so long as they discharged their obligations. If the new settlers had been of one faith with the native Irish, these rights would undoubtedly

have been recognized. They were recognized in Ulster where the landlord and tenants were of the same faith, but in other parts of Ireland difference of faith kept up the old animosity. The landlords hated the native population. They had no interest in the country except for the purpose of exploitation. Hence they violated the rights of the tenants without scruple. Here we have the beginning of Irish landlordism, which is associated with so many bitter memories in Irish history. The primary underlying principle of landlordism and of the confiscation that gave birth to it was religion and the cause of the many evils which followed on its trail were also religious.

Before the time of Elizabeth, the power of England did not gain a firm foothold in Ireland. Henry VIII tried to break the power of the quasi-independent Anglo-Saxon nobles of the Pale, and to replace them with an aristocracy of the Celtic race. After conquering the Desmond rebels Elizabeth confiscated the whole province of Munster. Her successor, James I, having subdued the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell, pursued the same policy of confiscation in Ulster. The confiscated lands he gave over to thirty thousand Scotch Presbyterians. James then proceeded to abolish the tribal system throughout the whole island and to replace it by the English land system. Elizabeth and James I used every contrivable means to exterminate the Irish. The sword, the rack, starvation, were in turn their instruments for extermination. "The sword," writes the historian Lecky, "was not found sufficiently expeditious but another method proved more efficacious. Year after year over the great part of Ireland all means of human subsistence was destroyed." Religion was as much the cause of these atrocities as it was of those perpetrated later under Cromwell and William of Orange. The attempts of Elizabeth and James to impose Protestantism on the Irish naturally aroused the opposition of the princes and the people and caused them to rebel. Rebellion was punished by confiscation and attempted extermination. Still the Irish were not subdued. The planters were, to use the words of Lord Clare, "A motley crew of adventurers," who had no interest in Ireland except exploitation.

It was Cromwell that made the plantation of Ireland a permanent success. Cromwell made the Irish pay dearly for their support of Charles I and more so for their Catholic faith. Having reduced Ireland by the sword, he set out to accomplish his avowed object of completing the extermination of the Irish race. He confiscated the whole island with the exception of the province of Connaught. He sent thousands of Irish people as exiles to the Barbadoes and Jamaica. But there was still a reserve force in Ireland, which showed itself half a century later when they rallied to the standard of another unfortunate Stuart, James II. Here again their loyalty to the Crown brought down upon them the same penalty as in the time of Charles I. William of Orange once more confiscated the lands of those who had remained faithful to James II.

William entered into a solemn compact with the Irish people to grant them freedom in the exercise of their religious duties. Had he not granted them this pledge of freedom the twelve thousand men who marched out of Limerick to enter the service of France would have sacrificed their blood in Ireland's cause. But sacred promises were of no consequence to William. The Treaty of Limerick was torn up, its promises disregarded and a Parliament was established in Ireland of which no Catholic could be a member. The penal laws passed by this Protestant parliament between the years 1695 and 1709 are foreign to our study except in so far as they affected the property rights of the Catholic Irish people. Catholics were declared incapable of holding property in land, or of taking land on lease for a longer term than thirty years. If they engaged in any trade or industry, they were forced to pay a special tax. They could not own a horse above the value of five pounds. During the greater part of the eighteenth century, there were two Irelands engaged in a deadly conflict. The one superimposed by the English Government was urged on by cupidity and religious fanaticism, the other was fighting for its faith and fatherland. In the second half of the century the English government began to practice the same tactics towards the colonists as these had practiced towards the native population. Parliament

passed laws in 1763 and 1769 which were ruinous to Irish industry. This of course was not due to any special enmity towards Ireland. England adopted the same policy at the time toward all her colonies. Bounties were charged on the raising or export of raw materials in the colonies. The production of manufactured articles was forbidden outside the mother country. A community of interests soon united Protestants and Catholics of Ireland. The revolt of the American colonies in 1776 gave them a signal opportunity for asserting their rights. The forty thousand militia raised by the Government for the protection of Ireland became the providential means for the assertion of Irish rights. Against forty thousand men England was powerless at the time. There was no alternative except to grant the demands of Ireland. The results were the restoration of the independence of the Irish Parliament, the acknowledgment of the right of Catholics to hold property and the relaxation of the penal code.

During the French Revolution Ireland experienced a period of unusual prosperity. The demand for food increased. Prices went up. Agriculture became more profitable with the resulting increase in the demand for agricultural land. Ireland was therefore soon changed from a pastoral to an agricultural country. The landlords took occasion from the high prices and competition, to demand proportionately higher rents. After the defeat of Napoleon prices suddenly went down again, but rents still maintained the same high level, for competition for land still continued. The population of Ireland had in the meantime increased by two millions and the people had to find something to do. Then began the evictions and agrarian wars which enslaved and demoralized the Irish people through the greater part of the Nineteenth Century. The landlords began their "clearances" which they carried out on a larger scale after the Emancipation Act of 1829 had deprived the forty shilling freeholders of their votes.¹ The people continued to

¹The disfranchising of the forty-shilling freeholders reduced the electorate of Ireland from about 200,000 to 26,000. *Contemporary Ireland*, L. Paul Dubois, p. 68.

compete among themselves for the remainder of the land. Evictions were of daily occurrence, and scarcely any year passed without a partial famine. It is only human to suppose that the tenants could not bear all this oppression with equanimity. They naturally used every means of avenging their wrongs. The English Poor Law was applied, in 1838, to relieve the distress which landlordism had brought on the Irish people, but it was powerless to relieve their extreme indigence. A report made in 1838 does not exaggerate when it tells us that for two months every year two and a half millions of the Irish peasants were on the brink of starvation.

Englishmen calmly looked on at this drama of suffering. "Why not apply the same economic principles in Ireland which we are applying in England. If free contract and *laissez-faire* do not work there it must be the fault of the stubborn Irish," so reasoned the English economists of the early Nineteenth century. They knew nothing of Irish character, they did not realize that tribal ideals were still deeply rooted in the Irish mind, they did not know of the rights which custom had given to the Irish tenant. "If Englishmen and Scots had given a fraction of the attention to the tenure and history of Irish land, that was . . . bestowed on the Sempronian laws in ancient Rome, this chapter in our annals would not have been written."¹

In 1843 Peel became interested in the Irish agrarian question, and appointed a commission to report on Irish landed relations. This was the famous Devon Commission of which O'Connell said that "you might as well consult butchers about observing Lent as consult these men about Irish land tenure."² The report was one-sided, as most of the commissioners were landlords. The right of joint ownership was completely ignored, but it was suggested that a law be made to secure for the tenant future improvements made with the consent of the landlord.

¹ Morley's *Gladstone*, vol. II, p. 282.

² O'Connell's statement may not be exactly correct, but it is interesting, as it shows the general distrust of the English Government then prevalent in Ireland. The Irish evidently did not think that the English were capable of any honest intentions at the time.

A Bill based on the report was introduced into Parliament the next year, but the majority was convinced that it was destructive of the landlord's property and the Bill was shelved. A similar fate awaited all the other Bills favourable to tenant right during the following years. The Irish tenants might be on the brink of starvation, yet the landlord must continue to charge his competitive rent. A failure in the potato crop was sufficient to bring a famine in those days. In 1845 the potato crop was a partial failure and in 1846-47 it was a total failure. Then began the great famine which continued its ravages until 1849. Its death toll in Ireland is estimated at 729,033, and 200,000 perished on their way to America. As a result of the famine 1,240,737 emigrants left Ireland for America to be followed by another million between 1851 and 1860. The famine was undoubtedly the result of the high rent charges. Ireland had a plenteous supply of other foods besides the potato, but their value was taken in rent. In 1848 foodstuffs and cattle were produced to the value of 41,000,000 pounds and in 1847 foodstuffs and cattle to the value of 38,500,000 pounds. "Ireland exported," in those years "corn, barley, and oats in greater quantity than could have supplied the people."¹

Two effects followed the famine, the one most detrimental, the other most beneficial to the cause of the Irish tenant. During the famine many landlords, as well as tenants, had been beggared. Their estates had become heavily encumbered. The English economists at the time thought that the sending in of new capital would be Ireland's salvation. They wished to see the encumbered landlords freed from their debts, and perhaps they thought that the English capitalist if he had an opportunity of investing in Irish estates might do much for the advancement of the country. The Government, therefore, passed an Act in 1849 throwing all these encumbered estates on the market. In less than ten years the Landed Estates Court created by the Act sold estates to the value of twenty millions sterling. And

¹ Dubois, *Contemporary Ireland*, p. 73.

between 1849 and 1890 the same Court sold about one-fifth of the land of Ireland. Most of the land sold passed into the hands of speculators. The new landlords were determined to get the highest competitive rent for the land, and wherever the tenant could not pay this high rent he was evicted without scruple. Most of the cases of harsh eviction during this period and for the next forty years were made by the purchasers under the Encumbered Estates Act.

The condition of the landlords in 1849 might have provided a magnificent opportunity for the passing of a land purchase Act. Such an Act passed at the time would have averted all those agrarian revolutions that characterized the latter half of the century. But the Government was not yet ready for any favorable tenant legislation. English statesmen had not yet acquainted themselves with real conditions in Ireland. They were persuaded that *laissez-faire* was good enough for the Irish. Hence "we cannot be surprised to see them inviting the purchase of the estates of an insolvent landlord upon precisely the same principle as governed the purchase of his pictures or his furniture." "The important legal rights given by custom and equity to the cultivator were suddenly extinguished by the supreme legal right of the receiver."¹

Between 1829 and 1867 Parliament deliberated on the Irish land question no less than twenty-three times, but the only result was legislation strengthening the hand of the landlord. Throughout all this period the Irish had been fighting for the principle of dual ownership, but the landlords were determined that the principle should not have a legal sanction. They would compensate the tenant for future improvements if he could only get the idea of dual ownership out of his head. The landlord's ideal was finally expressed in the legislation of 1860, which declared that the tenant's occupation of the land was founded on free contract, and that in case of eviction the tenant was to receive some compensation. This was to be the last piece of thoroughly landlord legislation and the last application of *laissez-faire* to Ireland. A change was

¹ Morley's *Gladstone*, vol. II, p. 287.

soon to come. England must abandon her *laissez-faire* policy in Ireland. She must change her viewpoint from the landlord to the tenant or have a never-ending agrarian warfare on her hands.

Another force was now at work which gradually strengthened the cause of Irishmen. This we count the beneficial effect of the famine. The famine and the evictions which followed it forced great numbers of Irish to seek a home in another land. There they made their influence felt and for the future they were to be a great force in Irish politics. Henceforth when the Irish needed moral or material support, they invariably turned to America where they found a people of their own kith and kin ready and willing to help them. It is sad to think that the assistance of America should be required for the continuance of a political and agrarian revolution which undoubtedly has had a most demoralizing effect in many parts of Ireland. Yet nothing short of revolution was sufficient to change the attitude of the English mind on the question of Irish land tenure. The English had succeeded in suppressing the rebellion of 1848. It succeeded also in suppressing later uprisings, but the undercurrent of discontent was becoming stronger and stronger. It was common to the Irish both at home and over the seas; and finally broke out in the Fenian uprisings of 1866 and 1867. The English quelled these uprisings but the Fenian society still continued to exist. Its influence was felt even in English governmental circles. English statesmen were at last aroused if not by the love of humanity at least by the Fenian plots and they began to feel that something should be done to allay the discontent in Ireland.

The Fenian uprising was a protest against the unjust treatment of the Irish tenant by the landlord. It was like all the other outbreaks that demoralized the country since Whiteboyism was first organized in 1760; but it had the good effect of at last attracting English attention to the pitiable condition of the Irish people. The best English minds were to be engaged in the Irish land question for the next thirty-nine years, correcting the mistakes of the past. One can notice through all their efforts what a difficult question it was for them. It

required a great many mistakes to teach them that the Irish question had marked features of its own and that English institutions could not be applied to its solution. Pity it is that it should take so many demoralizing agrarian uprisings to attract the attention of the English legislature, that every step in reform legislation should require a revolution. The jealousies, outrages, and feuds occasioned by agrarian revolutions in Ireland in the nineteenth century are beyond counting. Were they justified, especially in their extreme form? Could as good results have been obtained by moral suasion, by placing the matter calmly and clearly before Parliament? We do not believe for a moment that they could. It was a case of either starvation or force. Of course like all other movements, the agrarian uprisings in Ireland were sometimes used for selfish and unworthy objects. Individuals sometimes used them to vent their private spleen. Agrarian revolution has indeed been a two-edged sword. While exacting useful legislation from the Government, it has left wounds on the social life of the people which will take years to heal.

In December, 1867, Gladstone "first raised his standard and proclaimed an Irish policy along Irish lines . . . the Church, the land, and the college had to be dealt with in turn." His harangues on these questions during the elections of 1868 led to the downfall of the Conservative Government. Next year the Act of Disestablishment was passed and then Gladstone was free to turn his attention to the land question. The year 1870 was indeed a crucial year in Irish affairs. Mr. Gladstone felt that the state of Ireland "after seven hundred years of tutelage was indeed an intolerable disgrace."¹ For three months preceding the opening of Parliament he devoted all the energy of his great soul to the study of the land question. Many schemes of reform were set before him. John Bright proposed the creation of peasant proprietorship. John Stuart Mill, then at the height of his power, proposed the buying out of the landlords. These schemes were too advanced for English minds; yet there was a vast change in their attitude towards

¹ Morley's *Gladstone*, vol. II, p. 293.

the Irish land question. It was admitted on all sides that the improvements were the property of the tenant, and that he should be compensated for them in case of eviction. It was also admitted that the tenants' tenure should be made more permanent. A good precedent was found in the Ulster custom. It was thought that the extension of that custom to the remainder of Ireland would make the tenants' interest more stable, would put an end to evictions and thus go a great way towards solving the agrarian problem. In Ulster the tenant was allowed to retain possession of the land provided he paid his rent. He also had the right of selling his interest, if he did not wish to remain in possession of the land, or was unable to pay his rent. The extension of this custom and the compensation of the tenant for his improvements were the principal features of the legislation of 1870.

As an Act of social reform, the legislation of 1870 was a positive failure. As an indication of tendency of English legislative thought it was epoch-making. The legislator at last was coming to the aid of the Irish tenant. If his assistance was still ineffectual in relieving the distress of the tenant, it was because he had not yet perfectly acquainted himself with the exigencies of the case or because he had not been able to bring public opinion in his direction. In Ireland compensation for disturbance had little practical value for the tenant. The Irish tenant had to cling to his land because there was nothing else for him to do. In England, the man who could not pay rent could go to the factories, but in Ireland there were no factories. The Irishman had therefore to pay any rent that might be imposed upon him. The landlord naturally took advantage of the competition for land to get the highest rent that could be paid. If one tenant could not pay it, he got another who could. This essential defect of the Irish land system was not met by the legislation of 1870. The landlord might still secure the highest competitive rent, with the result that a number of people had to be evicted from their lands. The number of evictions during the six following years amounted to 14,080. It seems to have been an exceedingly difficult thing for a tenant to establish his right to improvements in case of

eviction, for out of 6,163 applications for improvements made between 1871 and 1880 only 1,808 were granted. This was a very small number when we consider that according to the testimony of the Devon Commission nearly all improvements in Irish land had been made by the tenants. The contracting out clauses were not very favorable to Irish conditions. In the agreement between the landlord and tenant we do not find all the conditions of a free contract. The tenant was practically bound to accept the conditions which the landlord saw fit to impose. If the landlord suggested the taking out of a lease for thirty years we doubt not but that the tenant would have to accept it in very many instances. According to the Act of 1870 the taking of such a lease by the tenant deprived him of any further right to compensation. In this way 30,000 tenants excluded themselves from the benefits of the Act.

"According to official statistics issued by the Irish Registrar General the total value of Irish crops in 1876 was estimated to be worth 36,000,000 pounds, in 1877, 28,000,000 pounds, in 1878, 32,000,000 pounds, and in 1897, 22,000,000 pounds. The year 1876 was by no means a good year in the matter of prices but taking it as an average year, the actual loss by Irish farmers in the three following years, as compared with the produce of 1876 amounted to a total sum of 26,000,000 pounds, or over two and a half years rental for all the agricultural land of Ireland."¹ The tenants were obliged to pay the same rents as in the preceding period of prosperity and when they could not pay, the usual process of eviction ensued. An outcry against excessive rents went up all over the country. This led to the organization of the Land League, in which the more moderate surviving members of the Fenian Brotherhood united with the agitators, who were dissatisfied with the parliamentary tactics of Butt and his successor Shaw, in pressing the demands of the Irish tenants. Parnell was made first president of the Land League and his selection for that office registered the triumph of his principles. He was now in a position to control the more radical members of the movement including Davitt, and to win them over to more practical methods of agitation.

¹ Davitt, *Fall of Feudalism*, p. 187.

The Land League determined upon a new method of agitation, which was far more effective than mere physical force. It adopted what has been known in Irish agrarian agitations as the "boycott." When a landlord refused to grant the demands of his tenants, the tenants were encouraged to pay no rent. They used every moral force to make life as miserable as possible for him—physical force being ostensibly contrabanded. The League tried to make eviction as unprofitable and as unpleasant as possible for the landlord. It held him up to the gaze of the world as an outrager of all the rights of human justice. It put a embargo on evicted farms. Those who should dare to rent them were ostracised socially. The members of the community were to have nothing to do with the hateful "land-grabbers." Storekeepers were induced not to sell to them. Artisans were induced not to work for them. The policy of ostracism was even carried into houses of religious worship. This was justifiable in itself, but unfortunately the Land Leaguers did not always confine themselves to moral force. The more conservative leaders were unable to keep the members of the League under control. Hence many outrages were committed which we cannot defend. It was these extreme acts of violence which drew down upon the League the condemnation of several members of the Catholic Hierarchy. As a permanent and final solution of the land question, the Land League advocated the creation of peasant proprietorship to be brought about by a law compelling the landlords to sell their lands to the tenants. The Government, it was understood, should advance the money to the tenants which they would be obliged to pay back in terminable annuities. This was a nearer approach to the true solution of the agrarian question than any law passed by the English Government. It could not, of course, be considered a complete solution, for that would require a system of internal constructive reform, which, we must admit, has never been properly attended to by the Irish politician. The policy which was actually adopted will be discussed in a later paper.

JOHN O'GRADY.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF CICERO.

The importance of Cicero in the history of philosophy is due not so much to the inherent merits of his philosophical writings as to the use that was made of those writings during a critical period in the development of human thought. There are men of that stamp in the present as well as in the past. They seem to give more than they have, and to exert an influence altogether disproportionate to their real worth as thinkers. They popularize the thoughts of others, or translate philosophy into the language of their own age and country. They are purveyors of philosophical lore who seem not to have drunk very deeply at the source of wisdom itself. If the comparison were allowed, they may be said to be like the so-called carriers of typhoid, who, without suffering from the disease, have the power of communicating it to others. Philosophy of course, is not a disease, although it sometimes ceases to be an altogether healthy state of mind. The comparison holds, nevertheless, in so far as a writer, who hardly deserves to be ranked among the great philosophers, may yet be placed in the first rank of those who influenced the trend of philosophic thought. It will be the purpose of this paper to show to what extent this is true of the Cicero whom all of you know as an orator and a literateur, but to whom you are now perhaps introduced for the first time in his role as a philosopher.

Cicero represents very well the attitude of the best of the Romans towards the study of philosophy. You know that the Roman genius was not suited to prolonged or profound meditation on abstract subjects. In a well-known passage of the Sixth Book of the *Æneid*, Virgil very graphically describes the peculiar strength of the Roman mind and just as graphically conveys to us his notion of its shortcomings. Let others, he says, delight to portray the human countenance and breathe as it were the likeness of the spirit into marble and bronze. Let them study and describe the courses of the stars. Let them ex-

cel in the art of eloquent pleading. But thou, O Roman, remember that thy talent is for government. To frame laws for the nations, to wage war successfully, "to spare the conquered and to bring the haughty low." The fine arts, then, are for the Greeks; for them, also are literature and science. For the Roman there remain the "arts of war," and among the "arts of peace," that of legislating and ruling with wisdom and moderation. The division is a fair one and more just than many another generalization of the historian. The Greeks did excel in the plastic arts, in the sciences, in the finer kinds of writing, in the cultivation of the beautiful. The Romans did excel in the practical arts and left on the theory of law and government an impress which time cannot efface.

The attitude of the Roman mind towards philosophy, the most abstract of the sciences, was originally one of distrust and contempt. As late as 161 B. C. all philosophers and rhetoricians were, by decree of the Senate, banished from the city. Later, of course, the severity of the measure had to be mitigated, and a more moderate estimate naturally prevailed. Greek culture invaded Rome and it was impossible altogether to withstand its influence. It was then that the Roman mother advised her son to study wisdom, that is, philosophy, but warned him not to acquire more wisdom than was becoming in a Roman citizen. The *Ne quid nimis*, originally a Greek maxim, was here given an application never dreamt of by the Greeks. Of wisdom the Greeks could not obtain enough. But, now the Roman warns not merely against that excess of wisdom against which the Apostle admonishes Christians, but also against any degree of wisdom incompatible with the practical duties of public life. "Be wise unto sobriety" is, indeed itself a profound philosophy. But it is evident that in the Roman mind wisdom, even in moderate measure, is less desirable than practical efficiency.

When, therefore, the Roman came to choose his philosophy this same appreciation of the practical determined his choice. He had long ago learned to discipline his imagination by the dominance of reason. This was at once the source of his political power and the chief result of the exercise of that power. This was in itself a philosophy, the stern subjection of impulse

and feeling to the rule of reason. It was, however, a philosophy of conduct and not a complete philosophy of life. He had still to find a speculative foundation for it, a reason in the nature of things, or at least, in human nature, to justify it. This was what the Greek Stoics had done. They had defined philosophy as the art of attaining happiness; they had defined happiness in terms of self-discipline; they had gone back to physics and to theology to find a foundation for these definitions, and they preached a way of life that not only made conduct a matter of principle, not of feeling, but also justified those principles in a theoretical way. Stoicism, consequently, appealed to the Roman mind. In its details, too, it was acceptable according to the Roman standard. It inculcated patience, endurance of pain, serenity of mind, and, above all, a certain *gravitas*, a dignity of demeanor and an air of superiority which were, indeed, more Roman than Greek and appealed at once to the Roman sense of propriety.

On the other hand, the Stoics, as everybody knows, set up the most extravagant claims for the typical Wise Man, the "Stoic Saint," as we may call him. The wise man is above the common herd in every respect. He alone is free; he alone is wealthy; he alone is happy; he is a sage, a saint, a king, a citizen of the world, at home in every country, a wizard, with extraordinary control even over natural phenomena. These claims are the so called "Paradoxes of the Stoics." They offended the common sense of the Romans. You know how Horace ridicules them in the person of the Cobbler Chrysippus. So that, while it suited the Roman to be a Stoic, it did not suit him to go the whole distance and travel with a Stoic guide to the end of the chapter of life. Besides, there was too much severity in the Stoic Code of Conduct. It was unreal and in a sense inhuman. It presumed a heroic strength of character, and the Romans, especially in the last century before Christ, were not the stuff of which heroes are made. Flesh and blood could not stand the strain of Stoic discipline, and the "Paradoxes" were not the only "hard sayings" in the writings of the Stoics.

There happened to be at hand an alternative that appealed to men of less than heroic stature, a more worldly philosophy, a milder code, an ethics better suited to weak human nature, the pleasure-philosophy of the Epicureans. These had started, like the Stoics, by defining the scope of philosophy as the quest of happiness, but they had ended by defining happiness in terms, not of virtue but of pleasure. In substance, they said that conduct is a calculus of enjoyment. Remark that there is still the notion of discipline. The Epicureans did not advocate unbridled and unrestrained pleasure. If you are to be happy, they said, you must moderate your enjoyment of life, you must subordinate the lower to the higher, and use moderation in all things, lest pain, the only evil there is, bring you unhappiness. To some Romans, as to Horace, for example, this facile philosophy of life made a strong appeal. At least, it was a pose easily assumed. It gave a man the name of being a philosopher without interfering very much with his inclinations or imposing too great a burden on human nature. The weakness of Epicureanism was its lack of seriousness, its superficiality, its tendency towards materialism and the facility with which some of its representatives ran it, literally, to the ground, and made it a mere excuse for flippancy, worldliness and worse.

But where, one may ask, were the schools of Plato and Aristotle all this time? Did they make no appeal to the Roman mind? Had they no corrective to offer for the severity of Stoicism and the laxity of Epicureanism? None, so far as Aristotle was concerned. His philosophy, destined one day to be the dominant force in medieval Latin Europe, never deeply impressed the mind of the pagan Roman. It was too scientific, too abstruse, too Greek, too much inclined to put the theoretical above the practical, the contemplative above the active virtues. Aristotle was known only as a logician, a rhetorician, a literary critic. With Plato, it was somewhat better. Still, Plato as officially represented, was no longer the Plato of the *Dialogues*. His school, the Academy, while still claiming the name and authority of the master, had yielded to the general relaxation

that characterized the times and had gone very far in the direction of skepticism. It is impossible, said these Platonists, to attain full certitude about anything. The most we can hope for is a high degree of probability. And that is sufficient for all practical purposes, since, as we say, "Probability is the guide of life." This was acceptable to the Roman both because it put the practical above the theoretical as a test of usefulness, if not of truth, and because it offered an easy way out of the subtleties of philosophical speculation. Many whom the arguments of the philosophers merely perplexed were well satisfied to learn that in the most important matters rigorous proof is not needed, but only a high degree of probability. One is forcibly reminded of the judicial impartiality of Sir Roger de Coverley: "Much might be said on both sides."

What, then, was left for the Roman to do? Stoicism, Epicureanism, this modified Platonism—all had their claims on his attention, and each seemed to suit his temperament in one way or another. He did what a practical Roman might be expected to do. He picked and chose from each system what seemed to him to be best and left the remainder to the zealous adherent of each school. In other words he became an Eclectic. Of course, every philosopher should be willing to admit truth wherever he finds it, and, surely, no philosopher can claim that he has all truth in his philosophy. To that extent we are all Eclectics. Eclecticism, however, is applied to the philosophy which, admitting that all systems are equally or almost equally true, adopts the truth of each without caring to harmonize, reconcile and articulate those truths into a system. It is this negative phase, this refusal to systematize, that is peculiar to Eclecticism. And this is once more, what appealed to the Romans. They were individualists. They would be "no man's man." They would submit to no master, they would adhere to no school in the strict sense of the term. "Every man his own master in philosophy" would be their motto, so as to allow the utmost freedom of choice.

Cicero was a true Eclectic. If, as he claimed, he was above all things a follower of the Academy, a Platonist, he was none

the less truly a disciple of the Epicurean Phaedrus and of the Stoic Diodotus. His philosophy has been aptly described as "an eclecticism founded on Scepticism." His scepticism is professed over and over again, especially in the *Academica*. It rests on two considerations. The first is the lack of agreement among philosophers. When one school asserts and another denies, the perplexed student is tempted to exclaim "A plague on both your schools," but, when he finds that the disagreement is among all schools and in regard to all truths, his inclination is to despair of attaining certitude about anything. That was Cicero's case, as it was, in a sense, Descartes', long afterwards. In the second place, if probability is enough for reasonable conduct, why waste time searching for anything beyond probability? This, as was said, is Skepticism, the modified Skepticism of the New Academy. As to the Eclecticism of Cicero, it is very evident indeed. Not only does Cicero take over the teachings of the Greek Stoics, Epicureans and Platonists but he uses the one to refute the other, and borrows arguments and explanations with a freedom that is astonishing. Indeed, for each of his works on philosophy there exists or existed, a model in Greek literature, which he copied so faithfully that he may almost be said merely to have translated. And he confesses as much. It is no exaggerated modesty on his part, when he writes to Atticus (xii, 52) "*Ἀπόγραφα* sunt; minore labore fiunt: Verba tantum affero, quibus abundo. They are mere transcriptions; they do not cost much labor; I merely supply the words, of which I have an over supply." He presented the philosophy of the Greeks in Latin garb. That was what he claimed to do, and that was what he did.

Cicero's services to philosophy may, therefore, be arranged under two titles. First, he was a historian of Greek philosophic thought, and second, he expounded and defended in elaborate treatises those doctrines of the Greeks which appealed to him as true.

As a historian, he did not, indeed, compose a work dealing professedly with the succession of schools and systems. He did not write a history of Greek philosophy. Nevertheless, as oc-

casion offered, he reviewed the opinions of those that went before him and used, in many instances, sources which are now inaccessible to us. What is, then, his authority as a historian? The answer of the modern critic must be "None, or almost none." He is most unreliable when he speaks of the opinions of the earliest philosophers of Greece. The reason is that he adopts as his own the absurd habit of the Stoics, by which, "accommodating," as they expressed it, the words of a text to their own system, they "read into" an ancient philosopher's works a meaning which he never dreamt of. Thales, for instance, taught that the primordial substance from which all things sprang is water. Whereupon Cicero interprets "Thales said that God is that mind which formed all things from Water." In point of fact, it was two hundred years after the days of Thales before Anaxagoras for the first time taught that Mind presided at the origin of the Universe. And it is the same in other matters. The unsupported authority of Cicero as a historian of doctrine, instead of being a proof, is presumptive evidence against that doctrine having been taught.

But, lest this judgment of Cicero appear to do him less than justice, let us turn now to his works on philosophy and see how he expounds and defends his Eclecticism. Cicero's view of the aim of philosophy is the first thing that strikes us. He freely admits that knowledge is a good in itself, and worthy of being sought for its own sake. Still the supreme aim of philosophical enquiry is not knowledge itself but the effects which knowledge has on life. His definition of philosophy is well known: "*Sapientia autem est. . . rerum divinarum et humanarum causarumque quibus eae res continentur, scientia*" (*De Off.*, II, 2). This, apparently, defines philosophy in terms of theoretical knowledge. It is plain, however, that, since, as Cicero teaches, knowledge is perfected in action, the theoretical must, in final resort, be subordinate to the practical. At first one is astonished to find Cicero lending support to the pragmatists, for these most recent philosophers also subordinate the theoretical to the practical and make action the test of knowledge. Cicero does not do this. Far from it, he assigns to theoretical knowledge

a value of its own, but considers that the chief use of theory is to lead to the question of the Highest Good. In so far, therefore, as he makes Conduct to be paramount, he is a Stoic. He is a true Roman in this: for him conduct, happiness, God, immortality and freedom are the only problems of philosophy that deserve the attention of a serious man.

Cicero's proofs of the existence of God are among the most popular of his contributions to philosophy. They are the arguments now known as the teleological argument, or arguments, from Design and the argument from the Universal Consent of mankind. In order to understand this second argument it is necessary to know how Cicero accounted for our knowledge of God. He is, indeed, the first to formulate a definite theory of Innate Ideas. Plato, it is true, had held a kind of innatism. He had said that we bring into this life vague and indistinct traces of a higher and purer and more definite knowledge which we had in a previous existence. It requires but the stimulus of the exercise of our imaginations to bring these intimations of ideas to the perfection of actual knowledge. Borrowing this notion without adopting all that it implies, Cicero taught purely and simply that we bring into this life the germs of some important ideas which we develop by experience into fullfledged ideas. "*Sunt enim ingeniis nostris semina innata Virtutum; quæ si adolescere liceret, ipsa nos ad beatam vitam natura perduceret*" (*Tusc.* III, 1, 2). Cicero strongly insists on the fact that nature, human nature, if we would only listen to its prompting, is our best teacher. And in this context he has a saying that comes with pleasing freshness from the pen of the dignified and somewhat egotistical Roman statesman. "In children," he says, "we see as in a mirror the lessons that nature teaches us: *Indicant pueri in quibus ut in speculis natura cernitur.*" (*De Finibus*, v, 22). Perhaps this, after all, is not so unexpected in the writer of those letters in which the playful tyranny of his daughter "Tulliola" and the tender affection of her father are so delightfully portrayed.

Nature, then, teaches us that God exists. How, otherwise, could we explain the universality of the belief in God? That

this universality is a fact is undeniable. The Roman, it is true, had not explored the remotest regions of the earth in quest of anthropological lore. Still his conquests had brought him into contact with many peoples of different race, language, customs, and so forth, and he felt justified in considering his survey of mankind to be an extensive view. Therefore, he pronounced unhesitatingly that no people, no matter how barbarous, had yet been discovered who did not worship some kind of a Deity. Having satisfied himself as to the fact, Cicero explains it by reference to human nature, in which is implanted the idea of God.

In a well-known passage of the work *De Natura Deorum* (II, 37) Cicero elaborates the argument from design, having in mind, not the atheist in general, but the materialist of the Epicurean school who accounted for the origin of the Universe by Chance. If, says Cicero, the twenty-one letters of the alphabet were thrown on the floor, would any reasonable man expect that they could by mere Chance (*fortuna*) form the words and verses of the poem of Ennius? And he adds a passage from Aristotle which, descriptive of the beauties of the celestial world, would surely deserve the tribute Cicero pays the Stagyrite for "golden eloquence."

The nature and destiny of the human soul claim Cicero's attention in a special manner, and are treated by him in a manner almost Platonic. He had, indeed, a full sense of the dignity of man. He could find no terms too severe to stigmatize the degradation of human nature in the philosophy of Epicurus. "Animarum nulla in terris origo inveniri potest" (*Tusc.*, I, 27). Immortality follows as a natural consequence. At the same time, Cicero condescends to offer considerations why death should not be feared, even if the soul dies with the body. Was this merely a rhetorical device, as the famous disjunctive of Socrates' argument was merely a dialectical requisite? Cicero, it seems, was determined to silence the fear of death, and to do it adequately he was obliged to make many hypotheses, some of which were inevitably assumed for the sake of argument.

Cicero's ethical treatises are taken up to a large extent with

the apparently interminable discussion about the *bonum*, the *utile* and the *honestum*. The last is his equivalent, the Roman equivalent, for the Greek τὸ καλόν and should, perhaps, be translated by the word "honorable." His comparison of the two great ethical systems of his day is, on the whole, just and reasonable. It seems to him that the Epicurean doctrine of pleasure contradicts the natural destiny of man and lowers the dignity of human nature. On the other hand, the Stoic demands are too severe and exigent to be practical. The "Paradoxes" are well enough, as Paradoxes, but no one, Cicero thinks, could live up to them without being either a fool or a fanatic. Therefore, in Ethics as in every other department of philosophy, he is an Eclectic. He considers that, all in all, the Platonists and the Peripatetics offer the best code of conduct for the average man. Their demands are more consonant with nature, more sane and reasonable, and, when all is said, what is natural and reasonable is right, Cicero thinks.

Such, then, was Cicero as a philosopher: not very original, nor profound, nor always as concerned as a philosopher should be about systematic consistency and the logical articulation of truths into one another. At the same time, it should never be forgotten that Christian philosophy owes a deep debt of gratitude to Cicero. Philosophy in general owes him a debt, that of having given to the discussion of philosophical problems a grace, an eloquence, a charm of style which, so far as the Latin world is concerned, made the study of wisdom an easy and a pleasant task. It is a mistake to underestimate the value of style in philosophy, a mistake often made by professed philosophers. Yet style is a power, for good or for evil, for truth or for error. Witness the charm of Berkeley's *Dialogues*, the force of John Stuart Mill's writings even on logic, the enduring charm of Newman and his influence on English religious thought. We should, therefore, give Cicero due credit for having, as he claimed, clothed Greek philosophy in Latin garb, and done it gracefully, artistically, attractively. To make wisdom attractive is no mean service to the cause of truth.

But Christian philosophy owes a larger and a more particu-

lar debt to Cicero. At a time when Greek was comparatively an unknown language in Latin Christendom; when even translations from the Greek of Plato and Aristotle were few and inadequate; when books of any kind were scarce and the spread of philosophical culture was beset with many difficulties, Cicero was read and appreciated. To many a philosopher during the early Middle Ages, Tully, as they called him in those days, was a source of information and of inspiration.

Moreover it should be recorded to the credit of Cicero that it was his book, *Hortensius*, now unfortunately lost, that led St. Augustine to the study of Platonism and thus indirectly to the serious consideration of the claims of Christianity. "Amongst those mad companions," he says, "in that tender age of mine learned I the books of eloquence, wherein my ambition was to be eminent, all out of a damnable and vainglorious end, puffed up with a delight of human glory. By the ordinary course of study I fell upon a certain book of one Cicero, whose tongue almost every man admires, though not his heart. This book of his contains an exhortation to philosophy, and 'tis called *Hortensius*. Now this book quite altered my affection, turned by prayers to thyself, O Lord, and made me have clean other purposes and desires. All my vain hopes I thenceforth slighted, and with an incredible ardor I desired the immortality of wisdom, and began to rouse myself up so that I might turn again to thee. For I made not use of the book to file my tongue with. . . . nor had it persuaded me to affect the fine language of it, but the matter of it" (*Confess.* III, 4). St. Augustine is, indeed, a long way from his conversion to Christianity; it is many a day and many a trial ere he hears the voice in his Garden "take up and read." And this time it is Paul not Tully that he takes up. But the beginning has been made by the study of Cicero. The book *Hortensius* changed him from a rhetorician to a philosopher, from a student of style to a student of the content of the work, and that was the first stage in the conversion of one whom the whole Christian world acclaims as the greatest of Christian thinkers, the Divine Augustine.

Finally to Cicero's graceful pen we owe two popular treatises

on philosophy, which are known to many who never concern themselves about technical philosophy at all. They are the work *On Friendship* and that *On Old Age*. It is quite possible that for some of us, at a certain stage in our academic career these works were not exactly popular. They were not intended for children, and do not appeal to children at all. They are for the mature student of human nature, who values Friendship as only he can who has tried it, and for him who, having passed the "mezzo del cammin" as Dante calls it, is learning how to grow old gracefully, beautifully, and with a full appreciation of the compensations which come with declining health and strength. In these Cicero is most successful. He has at hand a fund of common sense that is entirely Roman, and has at his ready command a wealth of literary allusion that he has learned from the Greeks. There we take leave of him, as he sits with his friends in his Tusculan villa and reads them the imaginary dialogues in which Laelius and Cato the Elder discourse in Roman fashion about Friendship and Old Age. The charm which his own friends experienced has fallen upon the centuries of Latin Christendom and inspired the medieval and the modern lover of wisdom.

WILLIAM TURNER.

THE CLASSICISM OF WALTER SAVAGE LANDOR.

“The constant service of the antique world” appears, with a difference, in Walter Savage Landor as in no other English writer. His life and writings were altogether pagan, and were fashioned on the model of classic ideals of thought and feeling. It was, however, mostly an innocent paganism:

“Were imaginary classicality
Wholly devoid of criminal reality”

as Hookham Frere said. His works have, in turn, become classics, and time seems to add a mellow autumnal tint to the lineaments of the personality which they outline for us. His character, at once strong and tender, impulsive and generous, unruly, ardent, willful, recalls the type of Greek sensibility of which Achilles is the best parallel. Yet the vehemence of his life appears in his writings touched to issues of delicate artistry by the restraint and sculpture of his style. The result is an impression of a rich, sensuous temperament cast in the mould of serene classic form. This quality constitutes the special appeal of writings in the large manner of the ancients which will ever appeal to lovers of gracious thought in beautiful form. “I shall dine late,” he said, “but the dining-room will be well-lighted, the guests few and select.”

Walter Savage Landor was born of wealthy parents in England, in 1775, lived for the most part in his Italian villa at Fiesole and his residence at Bath, and died self-exiled at Florence in 1864. His life, which spans a century illustrious in English literature, connects the age of Cowper with that of Tennyson. Keats, Shelley, Byron, Lamb and Wordsworth were his compeers. The English masters on whom he modelled his writings were Milton and Southey. Of Southey he was a life-long admirer, their strangely unequal friendship remaining unbroken to the end. Though hopelessly contentious, the foe of all comers, he seems to have had the classic genius for

friendship, and in later days retained the fidelity of Browning, Carlyle and Swinburne. To the work of all those writers he brought a discriminating criticism, and an appreciation which made honorable amends for occasional misjudgments. Nor were his interests merely literary; though harking back to the olden times of which he was a familiar, he touched all the living issues of his age in politics, law, and militarism. He numbered among his acquaintances Pitt, and Fox, and Napier. To the end, however, he remained an overgrown schoolboy, passionate and wrong-headed in the conduct of life. But beneath this external fierceness there lay a core of gentleness, chivalry and humanity which revealed him to Dickens as Boythorn, and endears him to many as a picturesque personality. The softer aspects of his life are presented in the occasional poetry which records his love-affairs—the playful or pensive verses to Ianthé, or the wistful tribute in his “carved perfect way” to Rose Aylmer. The latter, so loved of Charles Lamb, is one of the unforgettable things in literature, as are his tender lines on flowers which illustrate the delicate strength of his genius:

“I never pluck the rose; the violet’s head
Hath shaken with my breath upon the bank
And not reproach’d me; the ever-sacred cup
Of the pure lily hath between my hands
Felt safe, unsoil’d, nor lost one grain of gold.”

That he took all Doctor Johnson’s delight in the company of “a knot of little misses,” as he resembles him in his dictatorial manner, the reminiscences by Miss Kate Field and Mrs. E. Lynn Linton—the Leontion and Ternissa of his later years—remain to testify. The latter gives a singularly life-like account of his appearance as she first met him: “a noble-looking old man, badly dressed in shabby snuff-coloured clothes, a dirty old blue neck-tie, unstarched cotton shirt, and ‘knubbly’ apple-pie boots. But underneath the rusty old hat-brim gleamed a pair of quiet and penetrating grey-blue eyes; the voice was sweet and masterly; the manner that of a man of rare distinction.” It is a quaint picture which both ladies draw of the mannerisms and oddities of the leonine old man: his old-world cour-

tesy, his fits of abstraction, his tenderness and irascibility, his instinctive scholarship and taste for worthless prints, his indulgence of his canine pets, Giallo and Pomerio, his passion for trees and flowers, his over-generosity in giving, his stormy intolerance, and the loneliness and final desolation of his life.

Landor's work embraces both prose and poetry, and in both his sense of form is supreme. This lucidity and grace of expression is the salt which preserves the savor of his writings. And not only their manner, but their ethos also is classic. His lines on "The Genius of Greece":

"Greece with calm eyes I see
Her pure white marbles have not blinded me,
But breathe on me the love
Of earthly things as bright as things above"

are an interpretation of his temperament, and strike the keynote of his genius. Pagan ideals of conduct; love of the finite in Nature and Art; a vision of life bounded by the merely human view; delight in the young, in children, animals and flowers—these inform all that he said and thought and wrote. These traits of mind and heart enable him to enter intimately into the old world and move naturally among the ancients; they become his limitations in the realm of Christian thought, philosophy and mysticism. They constitute the special appeal of his art which is a return in spirit to "the glory that was Greece and the grandeur that was Rome." For, while his inspiration is Hellenic, his manner is Roman. The themes on which he dwelt with most feeling and insight were the myths, the gods, the heroes of Hellas, but the expression is the stately oratorical, or the succinct and sententious Roman style. Of all English writers, then, he best illustrates the pagan genius, and recreates the manner and semblance of that by-gone time. So his writings afford a means of escape from modern life, and make us free of that early world before the dawn of Christianity.

Of his prose-works the "Imaginary Conversations" which purport to be dialogues between the personages of antiquity, or the worthies of the modern world, are best known. They range

over all periods and display Landor's immense stores of knowledge of times and characters the most diverse. Some of them represent the heightened moments of history, others the spirit of an age as depicted in a special circumstance or situation, others the large discourse of poets and statesmen and philosophers on the eternal themes of life and thought and conduct. While not strictly dramatic in character, they reveal a splendid historic sense and a power of realizing imagined converse between the greatest minds of the world. To the sense of reality which they convey is added the personal charm of Landor's ever-present individuality. While the discourse is sustained on a plane in keeping with the character portrayed, it is often made the vehicle of Landor's own opinions and predilections. Hence the artistic value of his work which gives a living, breathing interest to the scenes and incidents represented. He is happiest in the colloquies of those persons with whom he is most akin, in the dialogues "through which breathes the mellow wisdom of the antique world." The conversation of Epicurus, Leontion and Ternissa, and of Epictetus and Seneca are a triumph of realism because they are informed by the easy, temperate philosophy of life, the frugal simplicity and naturalness of the author who walked "with Epicurus on his right hand and Epictetus on his left." Those of Metellus and Marius, of Marcellus and Hannibal, are convincing because the militarism of Rome was reflected in the martial spirit of Landor. "Do you think the grand old Pagan wrote that piece just now," asked Carlyle. "The sound of it is like the ring of Roman swords on the helmets of barbarians? An unsubduable old Roman." The discourse of Marcus Tullius and Quinctus Cicero is a grave and tranquil retrospect on the hazards and vicissitudes of human life and destiny. That of Scipio, Polybius and Panaetius contains the splendid estimates of the genius and glories of Greece and Rome. The meeting of Peleus and Thetis, of Achilles and Helena, expressed in his daintiest prose, is conceived by the shaping imagination of one to whom the old Greek myths were intensely real and vital. These with the dialogues of Lucullus

and Cæsar, of Aesop and Rhodope are the choicest of the classic conversations. Landor is quite at home in this pagan world and moves among its heroes as one of themselves with his own individuality. We learn for example his preference for Diogenes and Phocion and his imperfect sympathy with Plato and Demosthenes. Sometimes the historic truth is marred by the intrusion of these idiosyncrasies into the dialogue in which, as Emerson says, Landor "imposes his English whim on the immutable past." But in general his fidelity is striking, and no other English writer could have recreated that vanished life, or sustained its characters on such an ideal plane of thought and utterance.

The rediscovery of Periclean Athens in his longer work, "Pericles and Aspasia" is singularly intimate and familiar. It is a vivid picture of the ways and manners of life, the actions and chief actors—Pericles, Sophocles, Anaxagoras, Alcibiades, Aspasia, etc.,—of that eventful time. The book, which is full of luminous comment on Greek life and literature, is starred with maxims of gnomie wisdom, and poetic gems in the manner of the Greek lyrists. It contains among other things the exquisite "Death of Artemidora" in which a scene of domestic bereavement is delicately pencilled in the Greek manner, the imitative ode of Corinna to Tanagra, and the splendid "Agamemnon and Iphigenia" which might be taken for a fragment of the Greek dramatists. Altogether this revival of the past might be aptly illustrated, at least in his happier aspects, by the paintings of Alma Tadema, which have the atmosphere, radiance, clear outlines and wide horizons of the spring-time of the world. For do not Leontion and Ternissa and the portrait of Thelymnia: "there was something in the tint of tender sprays resembling that of the hair they encircled; the blossoms too were white as her forehead," recall the painter's shapes of girlish beauty, riant and flower-wreathed; are there not many glimpses as in a dream-world of some youth and maiden, fixed in plastic beauty, outlined on a marble terrace against a blue background of sea?

And is not the "Reading from Homer" instinct with the very spirit in which Landor's classic work was conceived?

"Poetry," writes Landor, "was always my amusement, prose my study and business." The most notable part of his poetry, valued nowadays for its severe beauty of form, is the "Hellenics," which were composed by him first in Latin. Their emotional content is marmoreal, statuesque—the "passion recollected in tranquility" of Wordsworth. These poems are idyls in the true sense of the word with the homely particularity of detail to be found in Theocritus. Of these the best are the touching "Hamadryad" and "Acon and Rhodope" which was a favorite of the late George Gissing. But Landor will be remembered chiefly as a writer of prose of which he is one of the great masters in our language. It is a noble prose which rises placidly to the level of the thought, and brims it with the quiet plentitude of grace and beauty. Its manner is unobtrusive in contrast with the showy effects of rhetoricians, and poetic with the special rhythm of prose as distinct from the so-called "prose-poetry." It has at its best the movement and balance of Latin prose. In its flute-like note and virile harmony it has been matched with the prose of Cardinal Newman. It lends itself equally to stately disquisition, and to terse and pithy aphorism in which his writings abound. It contains passages of grave and tender beauty which haunt the ear with their cadences:

"There are no fields of amaranth on this side of the grave: there are no voices, O Rhodope, that are not soon mute, however tuneful: there is no name, with whatever emphasis of passionate love repeated, of which the echo is not faint at last." Are not these lines on mortality as absolute in expression as the famous words of Theseus in Sophocles' "Oedipus Coloneus"? This original expression of noble thoughts and images constantly delights us in Landor. They light up every page of his prose which is weighty with a wise thoughtfulness, and "full of a veined humanity." Is there not a pathetic charm all its own, for instance, in this digression in his critical essay on Theocritus:

"We often hear that such or such a thing 'is not worth an old song.' Alas! how very few things are! What precious recollections do some of them awaken! what pleasurable tears do they excite! They purify the stream of life; they can delay it on its shelves and rapids; they can turn it back again to the soft moss amidst which its sources issue."

His works must be read in the same large spirit of leisure in which they were written ere they will yield up their full content. For they are the ripe product of the wide-margined life of one who "walked along the far eastern uplands, meditating and remembering."

FLORENCE MOYNIHAN.

BOOK REVIEWS.

Virgil's Aeneid, Books I-VI. With Introduction, Notes and Vocabulary. By P. F. O'Brien, M. A., LL. B., B. L. Schwartz, Kirwin and Fauss, New York, 1913. Pp. ciii + 316 + Vocabulary pp. 110.

It may at once be said of this publication, which has been long looked forward to and eagerly expected, that it is probably the best school edition of an ancient classic author that has appeared in English-speaking countries in many years. Here Father O'Brien pours out, alike for our delectation and instruction, the full treasure of that abundant store of Latin learning of which he laid the foundations in far-away days in Rockwell College, Cashel, which he wonderfully increased in Trinity College, Dublin, and which he has since matured and polished by long and arduous study in many lands.

Great pains have obviously been taken with the Introduction, with the double object of making it interesting as well as informative to the youthful minds to which it is specifically addressed. To the Life of Virgil thirteen pages are devoted; to the Poem, seven; to Pius Aeneas, three; to the Influence of Virgil, five; to Virgil's Indebtedness, six; to the Tale of Troy, three; to the Legend of Aeneas, two; and to the Story of the Aeneid, seven. Under these eight headings there is grouped everything that the most inquiring youthful mind could be supposed to seek or require, and the narrative flows along so easily and so smoothly that it conveys in the pleasantest way imaginable the information which it is its business to impart. Then follow valuable Hints for Translating; a section on the Reading of Virgil; a few useful paragraphs on Manuscripts and on Orthography; and a most lucid explanation of the Supernatural in the Aeneid. Two practical sections on Points of Prosody and Points of Syntax conclude a really fine Introduction.

The notes cover 148 pages, and everywhere they show a careful adjustment of the means to the end, coupled with the delicate touches of a ripe scholarship. The explanation of the exact meaning of *profugus* in Book I, l. 2; of the plural *irae* in l. 11; of

exaudire vocatos in l. 219; of *instar montis* in Book II, l. 15; of *animi* in l. 61; of a *Tenedo* in l. 203; of *Vario certamine* in Book III, l. 128; of the imperfect subjunctives *crederet, moveret* in l. 187; of the hendiadys in *pestis et ira* in l. 215; of the meaning and form of *magnanimûm* in l. 704; of the present subjunctive *dignetur* in Book IV, l. 192; of the abnormal intransitive use of *expectat* in l. 225; of the dative *thalamo* in l. 392; and of *spem fronte serenat* in l. 477, are illustrative specimens taken almost at random.

The vocabulary, as the number of pages assigned to it would suggest, is comprehensive and full. A specially praiseworthy feature is that, in addition to the usual meaning borne by a Latin word, every unusual meaning, with a reference to the passage in which it so occurs, is also given.

With a sigh for the disappearance of the old-fashioned drastic methods of teaching the Rules of Quantity and for the enforced abandonment of their application to "the happy-go-lucky pupil of today," the editor, in order to mark to some extent and in some emphatic way, the difference between long and short syllables, has introduced an innovation, which is at first sight startling. This consists in placing a dot over every vowel long by nature. A necessary result is the removal of the dot from the vowel *i* and the quasi-consonant *j*, which latter is of course printed purely vowel-wise. Under this typographical system such familiar words as *disièct*, *subut*, *pròicièct* look rather strange. It is a somewhat doubtful experiment, and it remains to be seen whether it will be generally adopted. It appears, however, to be an honest attempt to lighten the student's load, and in this book it is persistently and logically carried out.

There are thirty-three splendid illustrations, all chosen, as is rightly claimed, "for textual appositiveness rather than for promiscuous effect." In the reproduction of these pictures, as well as in the letter-press and binding, the publishers have done their part to make this edition of Virgil a handsome as well as a useful volume.

P. J. LENNOX.

The Signification of Berākā, a semasiological study of the Semitic stem B-R-K, by Thomas Plassmann, O. F. M. A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Philosophy of the Catholic University of America in conformity with the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (pp. xi + 179; Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1913; New York, Joseph F. Wagner, 9 Barclay St., 1913.)

The predominance of triconsonantal roots and the importance attached to vowels in the interior of words are two of the chief characteristics of the Semitic languages. Thus the Arabic verb *qatala* (stem Q-T-L) signifies "he killed," *qâtala* "he sought to kill or he fought" *aqtala* "he caused to kill," *qatl* "the action of killing" considered in an active or passive sense. Such changes in the meanings of the simple stem are not the result of chance but have developed according to certain laws and been influenced by many psychological factors. In this dissertation Father Plassman seeks to ascertain the origin and meaning of the Hebrew word *Berākā* *blessing* and its cognate forms in the various Semitic languages ancient and modern. After a thorough critique of the previous opinions on the matter, he outlines his own method of investigation. Without neglecting the historical, logical and ethical factors in the problem, he lays special stress on the psychological point of view, and rightly, for, after all, as Ribot expresses it, language is petrified psychology. But as psychological speculation easily leads to subjectivism, he is guided in his inquiry by the correlative morphological evolution of the words themselves. He naturally begins his investigation with the Arabic group for the Arabic is exceedingly rich in derivatives of the stem B-R-K and, according to some, has best preserved the structure of the protosemitic tongue. He shows that the most ancient, if not primitive, meaning of the verb *Baraka* in Arabic is "*procubuit camelus*," *i. e.*, "the camel lies down upon its breast," and that the meaning *to kneel* as applied to man is only secondary. He points out, with great psychological acumen, how this idea has influenced all the simple derivatives of this form and how the noble figure of the camel, the Bedouin's constant companion and chief means of support, has gradually developed into a perfect picture of strength, firmness, stability and continuance. This evidence is substantiated by a comprehensive study

of the same stem in the other Semitic languages, and thus the Hebrew word *Berēkā pool* naturally explains itself as a lasting, continuing mass of still water. The most important result of the evidence gathered in the first part of his dissertation is that the Semites, before their dispersion, possessed the stem B-R-K in the sense *to lie down, to be firm, to continue, to endure*, along with the category *Berākā blessing*. This conclusion is further strengthened by following the evolution of the concept *blessing* in the nomadic and settled life of the Semite. The idea of the camel lying down upon its breast develops into "continuance in rich pastures, peace and prosperity," and the word *Berākā* takes on abstract elements such as abundance, fecundity, felicity, which elements result, through the operation of the Deity, into an abiding propitious force or blessing. The last chapter is devoted to an examination of the nominal, participial, and verbal forms—active, passive, reflexive—of the stem B-R-K by which the Semites express the many nuances of the ideas: blessing, to bless, to be blessed. The study of these different forms not only corroborates the main thesis, that the idea *blessing* is derived from the original *procubuit camelus*, but throws a great deal of light upon many obscure passages of Holy Scripture. Thus, as regards the Arabic form *barūk*, Hebrew *Bārūk*, the author shows that in the expression *Berūk Yahweh* (Gen. xxiv, 31; xxvi, 29) the relation of the *Berūk* to *Yahweh* is one of possession, and the phrase really means: the (truly) blessed (bondsman) of *Yahweh*. Again in the expression *Bārūk le Yahweh* (Gen. xiv, 19), the force of the Lamed is to introduce *Yahweh* as the Lord and Protector to whose tutelage the felicity of the blessed one is commended. Under the Arabic form *barraka* (Hebrew *bērak* or *bērēk*=to bless) he contends that this Piel form is sometimes used in an euphemistic sense with the meaning *to curse*. Hence he claims that there is no reason for supposing with König and others that in some passages of the Old Testament (v. g. Ps. x, 3) the word was introduced at a later date to soften the meaning of the following term *ni'ēs to despise*. According to him, there is no doubt that the word *bērēk* was in the original text and thus Ps. x, 3 may be rendered as follows: For the wicked man has sung praises at the desire (which was evil) of his soul, and the covetous man has blessed (but inwardly) despised *Yahweh*.

The examination of the Niphal and Hitpael forms of B-R-K (Hebrew *nibrak* and *hitbārēk*) leads him to investigate the true im-

port of the Abrahamic blessing which has always been a *crux interpretum*. He shows that in Gen. xii, 3; xviii, 18; xxviii, 14, the Niphal form has the meaning *to become a barûk, a blessed one*, and that in Gen. xxii, 18 and xxvi, 4, the Hitpael signifies *to obtain a blessing*. Hence the true signification of these passages is not that all nations shall take Abraham as a type of felicity (Rashi), or that they all shall feel themselves blessed in him (Strack), but that the blessing of Abraham and his seed shall diffuse itself over the whole world and benefit all nations; in other words, that all nations shall receive a blessing through Abraham. This interpretation is in harmony with the testimony of Versions and Christian exegetes and enables us better to grasp the meaning of the words of St. Paul: That the blessing of Abraham might come on the Gentiles through Christ Jesus.

Father Plassmann's dissertation is deserving of the highest praise and reflects great honor on The Catholic University of America. The author does not merely give us the most comprehensive study ever made of the stem B-R-K, but points out an excellent method for similar investigations. We earnestly recommend his work to those who are interested not only in Semitic languages but also in Philosophy and the Biblical Sciences. The psychologist will find in it a beautiful illustration of the axiom: *Nihil est in intellectu quod non fuerit prius in sensu*, and the student of Holy Scripture will become firmly convinced that some knowledge of Semitic languages, at least of Hebrew and Aramaic, is an absolute necessity for a sound and thorough interpretation of the Word of God.

A. VASCHALDE.

De Sanctissima Eucharistia, Auctore Daniel Coghlan, S. T. D. Eccl. Cathedral. Corcagien. Canonico; Sacrae Theologiae in Collegio Maynutiano S. Patritii Professore (Gill and Son, Dublin, 1913).

Dr. Coghlan's name is not unknown to professors and students of theology. His treatises, *De Deo Uno et Trino*, *De Deo Creatore* (1909), *De Incarnatione* (1910), have been favorably received and have reflected no small honor on the great Seminary of Ireland. His volumes follow the order of the Summa of St. Thomas, being a helpful commentary, though not merely a commentary, on the An-

gelic Doctor's great manual of Theology. The fourth volume, a complete treatise on the Holy Eucharist, will be valuable both as a solid and clear exposition of Catholic doctrine on the greatest of all the sacraments and as a mine of information for controversialists. As might be expected from a professor of Maynooth Dr. Coghlan writes of the Real Presence and of Transubstantiation with special attention to the various and varying opinions of the Anglicans, who, after all, are trying to retain or regain much of the doctrine and many of the practices of the one, true, holy and apostolic Catholic Church.

On domestic disputes, *i. e.*, questions debated among Catholic theologians, he omits nothing of importance, boldly and clearly expressing his own opinion. With Cardinal Billot and others he interprets the words of St. Thomas, "Et ideo relinquitur quod non possit aliter corpus Christi incipere esse de novo in hoc sacramento nisi per conversionem panis in ipsum" (3, Qu. 75, A. 2) as declaring that there is a necessary connection between Transubstantiation and the Real Presence (pp. 132, seq.). In this, however, and in another discussion on the formal essence of the sacrifice of the mass, he is careful to state two canons of great importance: first, We must carefully distinguish between what the Church has defined and what theologians teach, even though their doctrine be generally accepted. Secondly, A fact or doctrine may be certain and yet men may not know precisely how the fact or doctrine is to be explained. We know, for instance, that God created the world, but do not know how creation was effected; we know that in one God there are three persons, but do not see clearly how this can be. Applying these canons to the Real Presence and the sacrifice of the mass, Dr. Coghlan reminds his readers that the diversity of opinions among theologians relates to the manner of explaining these doctrines, there being unanimity in accepting and asserting the doctrines themselves; and the teaching of the Church, the doctrine defined, is not bound to the scientific theories of any one theologian or any group of theologians. On the question of the formal essence of the sacrifice of the mass faith teaches, and the Church has defined that in the celebration of the mass a true sacrifice is offered to God. The Church has not defined what action constitutes the essence of the sacrifice. Theologians generally teach that the essence of the sacrifice consists in the separate consecration of the bread and wine: they do not agree in explaining how and why this separate

consecration is an immolation (*mactatio*) or change sufficient to constitute a real sacrifice. There is only a shade of difference between the De Lugo-Franzelin theory, the Lessius-Billuart theory, Cardinal Billot's explanation and the opinion defended by Dr. Coghlan. Even Vasquez will not be far separated from the others if we do not interpret too strictly the words "relative sacrifice." Cardinal Billot (*De Euchar. Th. LIV.*, par. 1) proves clearly from the Council of Trent (*Sess. XXII.*, Cap. 1) and from St. Thomas that the essence of the sacrifice must be an act which from its nature represents the sacrifice of Christ on the Cross: "In quantum in hoc sacramento repræsentatur passio Christi . . . habet rationem sacrificii" (*S. Th.*, 3, Qu. 79, A. 7). This seems to exclude as less probable the modified De Lugo-Franzelin theory proposed and ably defended in the May 1913 number of the *American Ecclesiastical Review*. Dr. Coghlan joins with the Lessius-Billuart group, Billot and a host of others in combating the De Lugo explanation. Reducing Christ from a glorious state to a lower condition on the altar, to the state of food, bears no analogy to Christ's death on the cross, and does not imply more of a destruction or change in Christ Himself than do the other theories.

But enough of this: such a serious question cannot be settled in a few words: read Dr. Coghlan and the others, and then "unusquisque abundet in suo sensu." Fine distinctions and close arguments have no terrors for the Maynooth professor: he will lead the reader safely through all these intricate windings, whence he will emerge with his faith strengthened and devotion to the Eucharist increased.

D. J. KENNEDY, O. P.

When He Dwelt With Us. By Margaret B. Downing. Boston, Gorham Press, 1913. Pp. 64. Price \$1.00.

The author of this little volume, daintily covered in old Italian blue paper with rich black lettering, says in her Preface that she makes no attempt to add anything of value to the vast literature on the Natural History of the Holy Books. *When He Dwelt With Us* sketches in shadowy outline a picture of the fields and meadows of Judea as they looked in the days of the Divine Ministry. Modern scientific investigation has definitely identified nearly all the trees and flowers which appear so frequently as symbols used by Our

Lord Himself, the prophets, the psalmist and the evangelists to portray the glory of heaven and of earth. These the author has woven into a slender story which centers about the Tree of the Redemption. There is a description of the tree itself, of the place where it grew and of the thorns which grew among the hills about Jerusalem, from which the Crown of Thorns was woven. The book has been compiled with great care. Each reference to flower and tree is accompanied by the modern botanical name, and to each is affixed the appropriate Scriptural text according to the Douay Version. The frontispiece is a lovely picture by Luca Giordano "A Tale of Angels Whispered," rarely reproduced in this country but familiar to all lovers of the later Neapolitan school, in which the colors and the symbolism are less startling than those used by the earlier masters. The cover shows in deep black a sombre Pine, the limbs of which form a cross. The booklet ought to be popular as a devotional Christmas present.

WILLIAM TURNER.

Commentary on the Psalms. By Rev. P. V. Higgins. B. D. Dublin, M. H. Gill and Son, 1913. Pp. VII—257. Price 6 s.

We hail with pleasure the timely publication of this very useful volume. Previous to Pius X's legislation, many of us, as the author remarks in the Preface, had begun to look on the Psalms in the *Commune Sanctorum* as our stock-in-trade; and so seldom were we asked to go outside them that we hardly thought it worth our while to study the others. Now, however, the entire Psalter is read every week, and any book that gives a short, succinct, but reliable account of these beautiful songs of Sion will be welcomed, especially by the clergy. Of such a nature is the present commentary. In the introductory portion we are treated to four most interesting and useful articles on "The Poetry of the Psalms," "The Psalms in the Vulgate," "The Theology of the Psalms" and "The Biblical Decisions on the Psalms." Then comes the commentary proper. The Vulgate and the English Versions are given side by side. To each Psalm is prefixed an introduction giving an exact analysis of its subject-matter, and the author, time and circumstances of composition, as far as these are known. There are added notes and explanations of each Psalm. And we may say at once that they are as clear, concise and to the point as could be wished. There is no

trouble taken to explain the text where "he who runs may read;" at the same time, no labor is spared in explaining the difficult and intricate places. The author seems to have made a special study not only of the Septuagint, but also of the Hebrew text. Evidences of this appear on every page. We offer our heartiest congratulations to the author, and we are confident that those who make use of the book will get an insight into the meaning and beauties of many of the Psalms which heretofore they may have entirely missed.

WILLIAM TURNER.

The Genius of the Gael. A Study in Celtic Psychology and its Manifestations. By Sophie Bryant, D. Sc., Litt. D. (London, Fisher Unwin, 1913). Pp. 292. Price 5 s.

This is a very important contribution to race psychology. The subject is admittedly complicated. The individual Celt is sufficiently elusive, when it comes to psychological analysis. How much more so the "Composite Irish Nation," as the gifted authoress styles it. Her success in analysing and delineating the genius of the Gaelic race is all the more meritorious by reason of the difficulty of the task. She brings to her task apparently, the psychological gift *par excellence*, the gift of insight. It is still more to her credit that she has done this in spite of the fact, as she tells us, over and over again, that she is "only" an Anglo-Celt. The most interesting chapter in the book is that on "The Psychology of the Celt." The Celtic characteristic *per se* is, we are told, "facility of consciousness," by which we are to understand "the characteristic of the Gaelic mind to become easily whatever it has in it to become. You may describe it in metaphor so far as metaphor is helpful. The mind of the Gael is as a phosphorescent sea, most part obscure, but all parts ready to break into radiant light. In dry psychological terms the best phrase I can think of is *facility of consciousness*. "Mobile," "closely knit," and "concrete" are also good descriptive words." (P. 60). Farther on we are told that by "concreteness" is meant the ability of the mind to act and react "as one whole." This is at the root of emotionality, because the incidents of life, as perceived by a rapidly moving, closely knit nature, must necessarily produce more disturbance of self-consciousness than the same incidents acting on one less susceptible. To the same facility of con-

sciousness are to be subordinated the positiveness of the Celt, his sociability, his innate courtesy and hospitality—his instinctive power of feeling the feelings of others—his adaptability, his loyalty, and, of course, the faults of all these qualities. The book is interesting reading for the non-Celt as well as for the Celt, for the latter more especially, because it is part of the mental make-up of the Gael that he likes to analyse his own genius. There are a few blemishes in matters of detail that should be eliminated in the next edition. Is the statement on page 130 that "In the Civil War (in the United States) there were Irishmen prominent on both sides—Generals Meade and Sheridan for North and South, respectively," merely a printer's error?

WILLIAM TURNER.

Criteriologia, vel Critica Cognitionis Certae. Auctore Renato Jeannière, S. J. (Paris, Beauchesne, 1913.) Pp. XVI—608.

This is a volume of the series of text-books on philosophy brought out by the Jesuits at their College in Jersey, the Channel Islands, and published by Beauchesne and Company, Paris. In the Preface, the author, with characteristic modesty, proposes to follow the volume by Cardinal Mercier on this subject. This he does, in the main, but it would be quite unjust not to call attention to the original matter in the volume, generally of an informational character, and to the helpfulness of the abundant quotations given in the footnotes. The method of treatment, too, is the author's own. The arrangement is methodical, orderly, clear and adequate. For example, pages 269-293 are devoted to the exposition and criticism of Pragmatism. There we find a bibliography of the subject, a historical sketch, a thesis with an orderly demonstration *per partes*, a "Scholion" on the Scholastic use of the argument *ex consecrationis* and a paragraph entitled *Difficultates*. We can only echo the author's hope that the volume may be found useful by Seminarians. It will, if it is given a trial.

WILLIAM TURNER.

Biblioteca Bio-Bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell' Oriente Franceseano. Per il P. Girolamo Golubovich, O. F. M. Tomo II. Quaracchi, Tip. del Collegio di S. Bonaventura. 1913. Pp. VIII—641.

The first volume of Father Golubovich's Biblioteca appeared in 1906 and immediately took rank as a standard work of reference. The qualities that won for its author the highest critical commendation are still more conspicuous in the second volume which is now before us. To deal adequately with this volume in a brief notice is impossible. Let it, then, suffice to say that it deals primarily with the history of the first period of the Franciscan missions and missionaries in Palestine, and that it is divided into two sections. The first of these (pp. 1-274) deals with a certain number of thirteenth and fourteenth century documents which may be regarded as "general sources" of the history of early Minorite activity in the Orient. The second section of the volume (pp. 277-540) presents, in ordered sequence, a varied collection of *Addenda* which tends to throw additional light on the period covered by volume I (1215-1300) to which the present volume is largely in the nature of a supplement. But Father Golubovich's book is not merely a biographical and bibliographical repertory of the Franciscan Orient; it is a collection of early documents of great intrinsic value together with a commentary and notes of the best quality. Incidentally Father Golubovich has much to tell us that is of considerable import even for those who are not especially students of Franciscan sources and origins. Indeed, the present volume is a contribution of the highest value to Oriental history in the thirteenth century as well as to the history of the Crusades, and the author is to be congratulated on the success with which he has accomplished the difficult task of sifting and condensing the enormous amount of matter bearing upon his subject. Although the volume is made up in great part of extracts from different mediaeval writings scattered through a hundred different records, yet it is obviously in the main the result of the author's own conscientious researches and painstaking labor. His virile yet sympathetic touch is felt throughout the work and keeps it alive. As an Appendix the author furnishes a Geographical Dictionary to illustrate the three maps which are a most important feature of the work and which cannot but be of great value to all who may be interested in tracing

the evolution of geography. A very full and informing Index, both analytical and chronological, completes the volume which is emphatically one for the student, teeming as it is with names, dates and references. Father Golubovich is a trained Orientalist. His knowledge is thorough, his scholarship ripe and his expository method clear and systematic and his present volume is, taken as a whole, an achievement of a very high order.

WILLIAM TURNER.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Letter of His Eminence the Chancellor.

CARDINAL'S RESIDENCE,
No. 408 North Charles Street.

BALTIMORE, MD., *November 1, 1913.*

REVEREND DEAR FATHER:

As the First Sunday in Advent draws nigh, the day on which our Catholic people are wont to contribute to the annual collection for the Catholic University of America, I am moved to appeal most earnestly to the members of our American hierarchy, and to our clergy and people, for a continuance of the support they have so generously given us in the past. This support has made it possible for the University to live through the trying period of infancy and to reach the present conditions in which it has become an honor to our Catholic people, a visible source of public benefits of the highest order, an evidence that American Catholics appreciate the practical uses of a higher education given under the auspices of our venerable religion, and are willing and anxious to make great sacrifices for it in the interest of both Church and State.

Our Holy Father Pius X is most deeply concerned for the present growth and the future development of our University, in which he recognizes one of the principal agencies of Holy Church for the formation of a highly cultivated priesthood and a great body of laymen properly trained in all departments of learning, and deeply devoted to the interests of the Catholic religion in our beloved country.

In his beautiful Pontifical Letter of last year, he says: "We clearly understand how much a Catholic university of high repute and influence can do toward spreading and upholding Catholic doctrine and furthering the cause of civilization. To protect it therefore and to quicken its growth, is, in Our judgment, equivalent to rendering the most valuable service to religion and country alike." And he adds the inspiring tribute that "in this noble seat of learning the finest culture is thoroughly united with purity of faith, in

such wise that the students, both clerical and lay, are trained in the truths and practice of religion and in the various branches of science as well." He rejoices that through the faith and generosity of American Catholics it has won for itself an honorable name and place among the foremost institutions of our country, and he trusts that even those whose good-will is greater than their means will nevertheless gladly contribute their share toward the support of the University as "the source whence may rightly be expected all those advantages for Christian education which flow out through our Catholic schools to enrich the intelligence with knowledge and to strengthen the heart in the practice of virtue."

In the short period of twenty-five years the University has attained a remarkable growth, when we reflect that it is almost entirely dependent on the affectionate patronage of the Catholic people and that so far it has succeeded without the colossal gifts that are showered on non-Catholic schools. Its professors have increased to seventy-four, and its male students to nearly six hundred, while as many more Catholic women enjoy its advantages in the various institutions connected with the University, making in all a total of about twelve hundred to whom its professors regularly impart instruction. About five hundred ministers of God have gone through its halls, and within a few years five hundred of our Teaching Sisters have carried back to our parochial schools, and to our convents, academies and colleges, rich treasures of learning acquired at this great centre of Catholic education. It has filled with new hope the hearts of our Catholic teachers in all parts of the country, for they rightly see in it the natural means of unifying, elevating and perfecting our Catholic educational system. Its rich library of over one hundred thousand volumes is only the nucleus of the vast deposit of books and allied treasures that will one day attract men and women from every part of the country, while the solid growth and varied activities of its laboratories and its equipment raise it to a very high rank among our principal schools. Its five large and modern buildings and its noble site of one hundred and forty-two acres make it conspicuous at the National Capital. Its professors have generously helped great Catholic enterprises on their way to success; the Catholic Encyclopedia, in particular, that monumental work of Catholic learning, confesses freely its obligations to the University, while the growing movement in favor of a closer organization of American Catholic charities arose there and still draws from there its strength and its direction.

It may be truly said, in a general way, that the Catholic University now represents our most solid and varied educational work; that it has entered many fields of educational opportunity hitherto uncultivated by us; that its reputation for genuine scholarship of many kinds is henceforth assured; that in its halls ecclesiastics and laymen enjoy equal advantages, and that the secular clergy and the religious orders and congregations feel equally at home within its broad limits. Finally, it represents in a satisfactory way, despite its youth, the noble ambition of the Catholic Church to reproduce in the United States, according to our national genius and conditions, the splendid triumphs of the past in every province of intellectual endeavor.

For the present, however, it is our Catholic people who reap, and will reap on a larger scale, the chief benefits of the University. Its professors are, in large majority, laymen, so that a great share of the annual collection returns directly to Catholic families. Its lay schools have greatly developed in the last four years, and henceforth each year will see an increasing procession of graduates from the Schools of Sciences, Law, Letters and Philosophy—engineers, lawyers, teachers, journalists, orators and authors—the raw material of that new and higher public life to which our people are now called under Divine Providence. In this respect it is not easy to overestimate the value to Holy Church of a great central school, strongly equipped with all that modern education calls for, so that our Catholic youth shall have no sufficient temptation to seek institutions where every day confirms the loss or weakening of that Catholic faith for which our ancestors suffered so long and so grievously. Every decade adds to the social power and influence of such an institution, while its countless activities remain constantly within the control of ecclesiastical authority. It is in this way that Catholic Paris, Bologna and Oxford grew up through long centuries and affected profoundly the life of Europe. In this way Louvain now interpenetrates and guides the Catholic life of Belgium, and enables that brave little Catholic State to withstand and defeat the adversaries of religion and order. In view of these facts and arguments it is my earnest conviction, after a long life spent in the service of the Catholic religion, that the development of our University is the supreme educational interest of the Church in the United States, and therefore a matter of urgent importance.

Catholic generosity toward the University is particularly wel-

come at present, when, owing to the great increase in students, we are obliged to put up several buildings, among them a Dining Hall for six hundred students, and a Chemical Laboratory, not to speak of a Library and a Gymnasium, all edifices of primary utility.

While this appeal, in my own name as the Chancellor of the University, and in the name of the Board of Trustees as co-representative of the authority of the Holy See, is directed to the Catholic faithful in general, we earnestly pray our wealthier Catholic people to consider seriously their duty toward this great central school of the Catholic Church in the United States, and by endowments, scholarships and special gifts to encourage and develop it for the common welfare. And if they cannot aid it during their lives, as they would like, at least let them remember it in their final disposition of the goods of this earth.

In the noble Pontifical Letter already quoted, our Holy Father calls the University "the fruitful parent of knowledge in all the sciences both human and divine" and a "newly established home of Christian wisdom." Let us all co-operate in preserving and developing this new and splendid home of learning that is making such rapid progress, is already our consolation and our pride, and, as I have said on another occasion, will be eventually not only the intellectual fortress of our holy faith, but also a glorious site of all the arts, a home of letters, and an inspirational centre for all that the Catholic religion can accomplish in the cause of humanity.

Yours faithfully in Xto.,

JAMES CARDINAL GIBBONS,
Chancellor of the Catholic University.

Constantine the Great.

The following is a resumé of the lecture on Constantine the Great and the Foundation of Constantinople, delivered at the Catholic University by Very Reverend Doctor Healy, Professor of Ecclesiastical History.

Constantine the Great was in two senses the founder of a New Rome. He gave Rome a new constitution and a new capital. He transformed the pagan Rome into a Christian State, and he set up a Christian city on the Bosphorus to take the place of the pagan city on the Tiber. The glorious architectural creation which bears his name was the concrete symbol of the other Rome, which has

come into being through his reforms political, social and religious. The City of New Rome could not have met the exigencies of the situation it was created to cope with nor could it have long survived its creator had not a new spirit of order, of justice and of law been infused into the decaying institutions of the old Empire. Constantinople, the new Rome, was the embodiment of the ideas of government and administration which Constantine among the rulers of men was the first to make effective. It was an answer to the failures of the past and a challenge to the unrevealed riddles of the future. The career of Constantine the Great brings to a close one period in universal history. With him ended the ancient world. When he made the fundamental law of universal love and brotherhood operative as a principle of statesmanship and politics, human affairs entered on a new stage of progress and civilization. By a strange coincidence, or perhaps because of a more intimate connection, the city which he established passed from the hands of the last of the Constantines when another great epoch in the affairs of men was drawing to an end. Constantinople fell, the mediæval age, the age of faith, was already passing away.

In all, therefore, that concerns the higher things of life, the fundamentals of law, order and civilization, culture and religion, Constantinople held a place of pre-eminence for a thousand years. From that time in the fourth century, when its walls rose beside the rapid waters of the Bosphorus and when it was made the depository and guardian alike of the treasures of Greece and Rome through a thousand years and more, Constantinople stood aloft, an organized state in the midst of disorder and anarchy, a home of culture in a sea of ignorance, a highly developed civilized community in a flood of barbarism. It maintained its place and its power by force of intellect rather than by force of arms. It was, within certain restrictions, the enduring embodiment of the life and purposes of Constantine.

Constantinople passed from oecumenical history when it became the prey of the Turks. It gave them much, but received little in return. It remains today a Christian captive in the hands of the infidels. It is inconceivable that its destiny ended in the fifteenth century, and that its eleven centuries of usefulness are to be crowned with a slow death of inanition in Moslem hands. It is not without the bounds of possibility that changes

may come. Constantinople is a European city. Its face is to the Orient. Its life may be renewed, it may once more be joined to the pulsing life behind, but it must have new masters. The happiness of a larger number of human beings, the fortunes of more nations are bound up with the possession of that hilly promontory on the Bosphorus than with any spot on the habitable globe. Constantinople had the thousand years of glory, it has had its centuries of eclipse, but whether in glory or in eclipse, it remains, and will remain, the Gordian knot of the world, the key to world politics.

UNIVERSITY CHRONICLE.

Gibbons Memorial Hall. The Cardinal Gibbons Memorial Hall has been greatly improved by two beautiful electric standards erected at the main entrance. They are of exquisite Gothic design, in bronze, and set off the great edifice in a pleasing way. A solid macadam road has been laid from the main entrance in front of Gibbons Hall, serving also Albert Hall. With the broad new granolithic pavement finished both Halls are now provided with comfortable and elegant access.

Registration. The registration shows a notable increase in the lay student body, which has reached the figure of 310, from nearly every State of the Union. The ecclesiastics attending the University number 240, making a total of 550 male students. Trinity College, now affiliated to the University, has 170 students, and Teachers' College 50, while the Summer School was attended by 383, making a total of 603 women students, and in all 1,153 students receiving instruction from the professors of the University. The Marist and Paulist preparatory schools nearby have an attendance of about 76. The Freshman registration has reached 160, the largest class that has yet entered the University. The students come quite equally from about forty States, though there is a large contingent from New England. A good number come from the city, and among them a few non-Catholics, including one Mormon student.

The Leo XIII Lyceum for the study of social questions has taken on new life, and rejoices in a greatly increased membership. Its quarters in Albert Hall have been renovated, and at the recent smoker given in honor of the Freshman Class the capacity of the little hall was severely taxed. The Lyceum has an ambitious program for the winter, including addresses from

distinguished senators and representatives, and also social and literary events.

Holy Name Society. It is very gratifying to announce the formation of a Holy Name Society among the lay students, with a membership of 160. It is hoped that this Society will grow until it includes all the lay students of the University.

Albert Hall. A new entrance has been made for Albert Hall, the old grade lowered, and the dining hall renovated, awaiting the completion of the new dining hall, which will accommodate six hundred students, and provide in its two upper stories eighty rooms, besides convenient quarters in the two towers for the recreation of the students, among other conveniences a common room, suitably furnished, for smoking, music, conversation, etc.

McMahon Hall. The granite walls of McMahon Hall have been re-pointed to a great extent, the massive steps reset, and the rotunda thoroughly renovated, thus giving a proper setting to the colossal statue of Leo XIII, which looks down benignly on the many hundreds of students who now throng about its base.

Gift to Gibbons Hall. New Statues of Our Blessed Mother and Saint Joseph have been donated to the chapel of Gibbons Hall, also a new sanctuary lamp and Stations of the Cross, so that it is now quite well equipped with the necessary religious furniture. A kind benefactress has donated a handsome ostensorium and another has given a beautiful ciborium.

The Department of Architecture has grown in three years from four students to thirty, and this has necessitated the fitting up of larger and more convenient quarters in the basement of Gibbons Hall, including a room for easel drawing, a lecture room and a small library. When the new Dining Hall is finished in February, the old dining room in Albert Hall, with

other rooms in the basement, will be turned over to the Department of Architecture.

The Athletic Field has been lengthened notably by the cutting of a long strip of bank, and a new running track is being laid out by the students of the Engineering Department. The outlook for baseball is very promising, and a choice schedule is already arranged. Basket-ball exercise attracts many students to the gymnasium, and the football record grows more encouraging.

The University Library now holds over one hundred thousand volumes, among the new accessions being a complete collection of works on Maryland history and biography, given by Michael Jenkins, Esq., of Baltimore, and an exhaustive collection of books and pamphlets on the Monumental Brasses of England, fully illustrating that beautiful chapter of mediæval ecclesiastical art. The Library receives at present about 350 periodicals, most of which are complete, forming a valuable nucleus of research and investigation. From the Rev. Fr. Hyvernât was received recently the new edition of the Babylonian Talmud in two huge folios. The University is grateful to Dr. Chas. P. Neill, ex-Commissioner of Labor, our former Professor of Political Economy, for the gift of a complete set of the Reports of the Immigration Commission in 41 volumes, one of the most important of our recent government publications.

Gift of Remarkable Painting. John D. Crimmins, Esq., of New York, a Director of the University, presented it recently with a very fine painting of "The Last Moments of Leo XIII," by the celebrated portrait painter the Marquise de Wentworth. This fine canvas now hangs in the parlor of Divinity Hall, and is much admired by the numerous visitors to the University. Mrs. Margaret Ryan Bowen, has presented to the University a life-size portrait of her brother, Archbishop Ryan. It is a speaking likeness, and was unveiled on the occasion of the meeting of the Board of Trustees, November 19th.

The Annual Collection for 1912 amounted to \$96,666.70, about seven thousand more than the previous year, for which generosity on the part of the Catholic faithful the University is deeply grateful. It is the support on the part of our people which aids the University in these years to meet the heavy demands made upon it by the great increase of students and professors, and the equally great need of new buildings and new equipment.

The Teachers College has opened its third session with 50 student Sisters, representing 30 different religious Orders and Congregations. Fourteen of the University professors give instruction in the College, that is conducted on the grounds of the Benedictine Sisters in Brookland. It is hoped that ere long the Teachers College may be transferred definitely to its own large site of 57 acres within a half mile of the University grounds.

New Paulist Novitiate. Cardinal Gibbons blessed and laid the cornerstone of the new college of St. Thomas Aquinas, the novitiate and house of study of the Paulist Fathers, at the Catholic University, on Wednesday, November 19, in the presence of a distinguished assemblage.

The blessing of the stone by the highest dignitary of the church in America, was a short but very impressive ceremony, and was followed by an address delivered by Cardinal Farley.

Gathered for the ceremonies, in addition to the cardinals, were Archbishop Prendergast, of Philadelphia; Archbishop Moeller, of Cincinnati; Bishops Canevin, of Pittsburg; Harkins, of Providence; Maes, of Covington, Ky., and Mgr. Lavelle, rector of St. Patrick's Cathedral, of New York City, Franciscans, Dominicans, Marists, Sulpicians, and many communities of women were represented.

Headed by the prelates of the church, a procession of several hundred formed at the Chase mansion about 3 o'clock and marched across the grounds to the center of the 24-acre tract, upon which the new novitiate is to be built.

Deposited in the cornerstone were the following articles: Copy of *The Washington Post*, of November 19, 1913; United States coins of the issue of 1913; parchment which read, "Laying of cornerstone of Paulist novitiate, His Holiness, Pius X, Pope, and Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States"; copies of the Paulist magazine and the *Catholic World*.

The new college is to be a splendidly appointed structure, fireproof throughout, and will cost \$100,000. The contractors have assured the university officials it will be ready for occupancy within eight months. The building will have accommodations for 60 students, and ample provision will be made for classrooms, dining hall, library and faculty quarters. In design the building will be of the Tudor-Gothic style of architecture.

The site adjoins the Catholic University grounds, and is only a short distance from McMahon Hall.

The trustees participated in exercises attending the unveiling of a portrait of the late Archbishop Ryan, of Philadelphia. The portrait was presented by Mrs. Margaret Ryan Bowen, of Philadelphia, and the presentation speech was made by Dr. Ryan Devereaux, of Chevy Chase. Cardinal Gibbons received the portrait on behalf of the university, and it will be hung in the divinity hall parlors.

Meeting of the Board of Trustees. The Fall Meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Catholic University of America took place on Wednesday morning, November 22nd, at 10 a. m., in Divinity Hall. The following members of the Board were present:

His Eminence, James Cardinal Gibbons, Baltimore, Md., President of the Board and Chancellor of the University.

His Eminence, John Cardinal Farley, New York City, Vice-President of the Board.

Most Reverend Henry Moeller, Archbishop of Cincinnati, Ohio.

Most Reverend Edmond F. Prendergast, Archbishop of Philadelphia.

Right Reverend Camillus Paul Maes, Bishop of Covington, Ky.

Right Reverend Matthew Harkins, Bishop of Providence, R. I.

Right Reverend John S. Foley, Bishop of Detroit.

Right Reverend J. F. Regis Canevin, Bishop of Pittsburg.

Right Reverend Monsignor Michael J. Lavelle, New York City.

Right Reverend Monsignor Thomas J. Shahan, Rector of the University.

Hon. John D. Crimmins, New York City.

Hon. Charles J. Bonaparte, Baltimore, former Attorney-General of the United States.

Hon. Richard C. Kerens, former U. S. Ambassador to Austria.

Hon. Thomas Kearns, Salt Lake City, former U. S. Senator from Utah.

Opening prayer was offered by the President of the Board, Cardinal Gibbons.

The Report of the Right Reverend Rector, as well as the Report of the Treasurer, Mr. Michael Jenkins, of Baltimore, Md., was presented and accepted by the Board.

The Rector likewise presented a report of the Summer School of 1913, and of the work of Teachers College, and also of the work so far accomplished for the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception.

The Trustees expressed themselves as greatly satisfied at the completion of Gibbons Hall, and particularly at the increased attendance of the lay students.

The Right Reverend Rector laid before the Board the pressing needs of the University, a new Chemical Laboratory, a new Gymnasium, a University Library and more residence halls. These needs were taken under consideration and the earnest wish was expressed that some generous donor would be forthcoming to relieve these urgent necessities of the University.

The Trustees expressed great pleasure at the general improvement noticeable in the buildings and the grounds of the

University and were all of the opinion that a new era of prosperity was opening before this great central school of the Catholic Church.

Among the Trustees who came from a great distance, was ex-Senator Thomas Kearns, of Utah. Prominent among the lay Trustees present were Hon. John D. Crimmins, of New York City, Hon. Charles J. Bonaparte, of Baltimore, and Hon. Richard C. Kerens, of Elkins, W. Va.

Public Lectures. The following is the list of the Public Lectures given in MacMahon Hall this term:

October 23—"Constantine the Great and New Rome."

V. REV. PATRICK J. HEALEY, D. D.

October 30—"Zoroastrianism and Christianity."

V. REV. CHARLES F. AIKEN, D. D.

November 6—"The Philosophy of Cicero."

REV. WILLIAM TURNER, D. D.

November 13—"St. Catharine of Siena and the Papacy (1347-1308)."

REV. THOMAS M. SCHWERTNER, O. P., S. T. L.

November 20—"The Russian Schismatics."

REV. SIGOURNEY W. FAY, S. T. L.

December 4—"The Jacobite Poets of Ireland (1690-1770)."

DR. PATRICK J. LENNOX.

December 11—"Charlemagne in Weber's *Dreizehnlinden*."

DR. PAUL GLEIS.

Courses in Practical Charity have been started in Chicago under the auspices of Loyola University, with Father Francis Seidenburg, S. J., as Director, and in Boston under the patronage of His Eminence, Cardinal O'Connell, with Father Michael J. Scanlon, as Director.

